THE RHINELAND JOURNAL OF GENERAL HENRY T. ALLEN

Henry T. Allen

MY RHINELAND JOURNAL

BY
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MAJOR-GENERAL U.S.A.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

In giving to the public these parts of my journal, it is with the thought that they may be useful in forming a better estimate of men and measures beyond our confines which the increased interdependence of states is certain to demand in the coming years. These extracts may reveal the practicability and advantages of a frank policy based on fair play and a square deal. Nearly every difference with my colleagues on the Rhine, civil and military, was compounded and personal friendship was maintained at all times. There may be those who will say that some of the matter touched upon in this book is so intimate and personal that any publicity concerning it should be deferred to a more remote date — perhaps until the present actors have passed. Those persons are asked to reserve judgment until the results are learned.

After the ratification of the treaties, our policy of conciliation was so free from personal bias or official partisanship, and our efforts toward genuine peace, restoration, and trade were so sincere that they met with a most friendly reception from the representatives of the countries directly concerned.

The long delay of European Powers, while waiting for us, in carrying out the necessary formalities to make the Versailles Treaty effective, was proof of their earnest desire to have our country help win the peace. That state which had brought forward and sponsored the Fourteen Points and had consented, through its peace delegation, to join England in securing France against unprovoked aggression on the part of Germany, failed to ratify either the three-sided arrangement or the treaty, whether as agreed upon or as modified almost beyond recognition by reservations. Our war partners did not fail to consider us in default, and

our recent enemy to feel that without America she had made a mistake in signing. Hope in the Tripartite Agreement had induced France to renounce the consideration of the Rhine as a boundary or of separate treaties with the larger states of Germany.

In deciding upon a given line of action, these thoughts and the viewpoints of the several interested states, largely based on their historical relations to each other, were given due consideration. It may therefore be truthfully said that, whilst the American viewpoint dominated, it was materially modified in its application.

From the beginning, there was a conviction that history would be more interested in the administration of our zone than in the quality of our soldiers; yet it was obvious that a superior soldiery would be most helpful to that end, and toward increasing the military prestige of the United States abroad. The friendly and flattering expressions of opinion by European experts concerning the training and efficiency of the American Forces on the Rhine have given much satisfaction.

H. T. A.

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CHAPTER I

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June 27, 1919. President Poincaré, of France, cordially said to me to-day: "So you are going to take General Pershing's place when he goes home." My answer was that it was not yet known to me whether I was to return home or go back to Germany. President Poincaré emphasized the necessity of keeping troops on the Rhine to make the Germans, who he said are always treacherous, carry out the terms of the treaty. He added that President Wilson had told him last night that he would have a hard battle on reaching home, but that it would be "a one-day battle."

France is exerting every effort to have our troops remain on the Rhine. In this she is wise, since the presence there of even a few Americans is a tremendous moral asset. Marshal Foch seems to be convinced of the importance of keeping large military forces in Germany.

We left Wittlich, Germany, on May 25th, where I commanded the 7th Army Corps from May 5th to May 24th. We found little sunshine, either in that part of Germany or in the hearts of the Germans. It seemed odd to be in a country where even saying "good morning" violated the spirit of orders against fraternizing. Germany feels keenly

the terms of the proposed peace treaty. The more carefully I examined them, the more drastic they appeared. Under them Germany cannot be thought of as one of the great powers of the world. If the Germans sign the treaty, it will mean her reduction to a second-rate power for a number of years. The loss of so much territory, including such a large percentage of her coal and iron, together with the reparations, will cripple her radically. The German political situation remains very acute. It appears that, if the delegates sign the proposed terms, the Government will be overthrown; if they do not sign, hunger will increase in Germany. The thrift of the German people was in evidence everywhere. Although short of young man power and work animals, the soil is being cultivated by old men, women, and children who are using milk cows as draught animals.

My order of May 29th simply instructed me to remain in Paris without a suggestion as to what my duties were. Several days ago Admiral Cary Grayson told me that I was going to Germany to command there — that President Wilson had told him that my war record was good.

I recall my flying visit to Paris in December, 1917. The United States had declared war, and a number of division commanders, including myself, accompanied by our chiefs of staff and aides, hurried to France to study actual operations on the French and British fronts, and to familiarize ourselves with the magnitude of the war. Paris was comparatively gayer when we arrived than she had been in September, 1914. This was due to the military support France was getting, and to the great amount of money foreign troops were spending in Paris.

Returning to America the following February, we were given a drastic physical examination, much to the disgust of some of the generals. Some of them were greatly vexed to have to hop on one foot fifty times under the scrutiny of some of the leading medical celebrities of the country. To Camp Travis, Texas, early in March, 1918, and plunged into the intense military training of my division. We

sailed on the *Olympic* in June; life was very interesting; the game we were preparing to play was the greatest that could be conceived of.

On August 24th, I officially took over the Puvenelle sector, under heavy bombardment by the Boches. Early in September, I was installed in my dug-out at Mamey, provided with scores of wires. Our attack began at once, a four-hour bombardment, preliminary to the great jump-off at the Hindenburg Line. The pandemonium filled me with the greatest joy. In spite of wire entanglements and frightful firing, our objectives were all reached the same day. It was the first real engagement of the 90th. Our losses were comparatively few. It was probably the most interesting and thrilling day of my existence. Owing to the relief of other divisions, the 90th was the only American division to remain in line. Marshal Foch at once wired General Pershing as follows:

The First American Army under your command on this first day has won a magnificent victory by a maneuver as skillfully prepared as it was valiantly executed. I extend to you, as well as to the officers and troops under your command, my warmest compliments.

On the eve of the supreme test of our troops, on October 17, 1918, I assembled all of the officers of each of the regiments of each brigade at the respective regimental headquarters, and addressed them in the presence of the brigade commanders. It was a tense moment, and every gaze was glued to mine. I earnestly demanded that every objective must be taken and then held.

"If you cannot hang on with your hands, you must hang on with your toes. And if you cannot hang on with your toes, you must hang on with your teeth," I said, and as I studied their faces, there was no doubt in my mind as to what the results would be. There was not a single straggler in the action that followed. I supplemented my talk with this bulletin:

In the coming operations of this Division, every member must exert the maximum of his mental and physical forces in

order to hit the enemy the hardest possible blow. This Division has thus far earned a good reputation by its work at Camp Travis, its fine training zeal in the Aignay-le-Duc zone, and its effective blows against the enemy west of the Moselle River.

The next operation, however, is going to classify decisively the 90th Division, determining where it will be rated with respect to the others which are now in front of it or which have preceded it between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River. The place to be accorded it in the history of the Army of the United States will depend upon how well it executes the tasks which are about to be assigned it. The forests of Venchères, des Rappes, and above all le Prêtre bear testimony to its gallantry and dash and the results there give promise of greater achievements. It must be a matter of duty, pride, and patriotism for every member of this Division to have it make the best record of any division of any corps of the First U.S. Army.

Your country, your states, and your counties are keenly alert to your acts and expect much of you. Your Commanding General has a firm conviction, born of his intimate knowledge of you, that your families and friends will not be disappointed in your military prowess.

We ceased our operations reluctantly on the day of the Armistice, November 11, 1918. It seemed to us that the Boches should have had a severer defeat.

Throughout the efforts of the 90th Division in the Meuse–Argonne sector, it displayed fighting qualities second to none. Every regiment gained its objective in every operation in which it participated. Its capture of the strong position Freya Stellung, against the determined resistance of two enemy shock divisions, was superb. It successfully crossed the Meuse and took the line Stenay–Baalon, including both towns. The division received official commendations for its work in the St.-Mihiel salient and the Argonne–Meuse offensive.

In commending my troops at the conclusion of their task, I could not find words adequate to express my great satisfaction and delight with the fine military spirit of the division and my pride in its fighting value after seventy-four days in the fighting lines, despite severe losses and terrific demands.

June 28. With General Pershing, Harbord, Fox Conner, Hughes, and I went to the Galerie des Glaces du Château at Versailles, where we were joined by Summerall and Patrick to see the signing of the long-delayed treaty. There must have been five hundred in that gallery instead of two hundred as originally intended, but the military leaders were largely conspicuous by their absence. There was present neither Joffre, Foch, Pétain, nor any other striking French leader. General Henry Wilson, of the British Army, was there, but apparently no military personages from Italy or Belgium, unless they were in civilian clothes. The United States had more generals in uniform than any other country.

Though the Germans came in last, they signed first and went out first. This was the result of previous discussion and was in conformity with the protocol. Their appearance was not attractive, nor is it credible that under such conditions any delegation could look its best. The signing began at 3.10 and was over at 3.45. There were 122 signatories to the four documents. The French staged the whole ceremony in their usual fine style. Grayson called me to the President as he was going out, and we exchanged a few words.

Immediately on returning to General Pershing's house, Conner called up Chaumont and gave instructions that the 4th and 5th Divisions be relieved for return to the United States, and that S.O.S. and the Commanding General of the Third Army be notified at once.

June 30. Foch and Pershing had their conference to-day, and I presume we shall soon know definitely what American forces will be kept on the Rhine.

At the Stadium this afternoon there was no country near ours in the competitions for throwing the disc, javelin, shot, and grenade. At the tea of Madame Poincaré and Madame Taufflieb at the Lyceum this afternoon Viviani made one of his beautiful speeches in behalf of the fund for saving babies.

July 1. Just as I was leaving the hotel for my office,

General Pershing called me over to his house. He told me of his conference with Marshal Foch, and that if practicable all of our troops, except a full regiment with auxiliaries amounting to 5500 to 6000 men, would be withdrawn from the Rhine, but that the reduction would be slow and would depend almost entirely on the conduct of the Germans. If the final command were small, it would still be important to have an officer of rank and experience who could keep well in touch with what the British and French were doing; that the headquarters would probably continue at Coblenz, possibly at Ehrenbreitstein. He said he would telegraph his proposition to the War Department, and that Liggett, who is to arrive here to-morrow, would be relieved to go home at his own request. It was evident that he felt the size of the command seemed incommensurate with my grade, but he felt that the politico-diplomatic phase of the duties might be of great importance.

The King of Montenegro with his swarthy suite desires to visit the Stadium again, and I went around to the Meurice after dinner to ascertain his wishes. He was surprised that I remembered him from his visit to Russia in 1894. His features and general appearance are so striking that it would be most difficult to forget him. His present status is truly depressing to him and must be very distressing to the head of this proud mountain people.

July 2. General Pershing was at the Stadium this afternoon, and told me that I had better turn over matters here and go up to Coblenz, as Liggett would be here tonight and would go directly home; however, I could wait until after the Fourth. On reaching the hotel the following telegram was handed me:

> Orders issued this date assigning you to command American Forces in Germany. They are being sent by courier. American Forces in Germany comprise what was formerly Third Army which was discontinued as such this date. Acknowledge.

This was dated, "Headquarters A.E.F., Chaumont, July 2d."

July 3. There was a superb official dinner at the Pré

Catalan Restaurant in the Bois to-day; the Minister of Marine presided. Only he and General Pershing made formal speeches. The latter told me that he had written every word of his speech as he always did, but that he had had it put into French and had read it. There was a remarkable gathering of stars, military and naval, and many officers congratulated me on going to Germany.

Marshal Pétain said in leaving: "Je vous verrai à Coblence."

Marshal Foch after dinner said to me: "Je dis simplement je bois aux vainqueurs, c'est tout."

July 4. General Pershing, Liggett, Summerall, Hines, Brewster, Harbord, and myself drove to the Place de la Concorde for the review on the occasion of our national holiday, which was attended by Poincaré and Clemenceau. From there we went to the Picpus Cemetery, where Ambassador Wallace spoke and laid a wreath on the tomb of Lafayette. The Board of Trade gave a large luncheon at the Hôtel du Quai d'Orsay. There were speeches by Foch, Tardieu, Wallace, and Pershing, after which we went to Maison Lafitte for a special race programme prepared in honor of the day and of General Pershing, where champagne and refreshments were served. The Marquis de Noailles received our party most graciously.

Then I went to the Stadium, where were the King of Montenegro and his suite, some of whom had full beards dyed black. We remained to see the result of the finals in the heavyweight boxing contest, but as the American knocked out the Australian in the first round, we felt we were hardly compensated for our delay. I dined alone at the Club and went to a gala performance of *Faust.*

On returning to the hotel I found a Fourth of July ball in full swing. Some of the costumes were marvelous, equaling in brevity of material some of those just seen on the stage. The wearers were not Americans.

Brewster told me to-day that his bureau considered the 90th Division the smartest one sent over here and that he had heard Hines say that "Allen is the best division com-

mander I know." Of course, all that is ancient history and may only be flattery, but possibly it has been potent in my subsequent details. He rated the following as the best fighting divisions in the A.E.F.: 1st, 2d, 4th, 89th, and 90th.

July 5. The French are making extended preparations for the celebration of their great anniversary on the 14th.

It has been necessary to get a truck to carry our "plunder" back to Germany and I am promised one of the Locomobiles used by the President's party.

July 6. We started for Germany at about eleven o'clock, going through Meaux, La Ferté (where we had a good lunch), Château-Thierry, Rheims (both places dreadfully devastated), Rethel, and Sedan. In some places practically nothing has been done toward repairing, apparently due to the magnitude of the destruction. We are now at Sedan at the Hôtel Metz, but dined in the old Château Bas, formerly the Palais des Princes, dating back to 1614. It is now a French Officers' Club. There are about three thousand soldiers of different arms in this city. It is dirty, but very slightly injured by shelling or bombing.

July 7. Leaving Sedan, we went along the Meuse, passing through Stenay, Mouzay, and Baalon to view the scenes of the most advanced fighting of the A.E.F. and the last fighting of the 90th Division. At Mouzay we called on the mayor and visited the house where my headquarters had been. The town has become filthy and unsightly; in most of the towns through which we have passed there is a decided want of proper policing.

On arrival at the headquarters of the Third Army at Coblenz, we found that the chief of staff was out with a French party, including Marshal Foch and General Mangin, who have been assisting at the transfer of the remains of Generals Hoche and Marceau. A salon and three bedrooms are reserved for me at the Coblenzerhof. A telegram came to-day from the Commander-in-Chief inviting myself and Generals McGlachlin, Howze, and Craig to ride with him in the parade in Paris on the Champs Élysées on

HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN FORCES IN GERMANY, COBLENZ

the 14th of the month. The Rhineland High Commission, with Pierrepont B. Noyes as the American representative, has its seat here, and Mr. Adams, our Liquidation Commissioner, is also here.

July 8. There are now about 110,000 American troops in this occupied territory, but only about half that number are under my command, the others being under orders to proceed home. Hersey and Howze have been in to call. I issued orders to-day sending Summerall to Paris, whence he goes to Fiume as an American delegate or member of the Allied Commission. The house vacated by General Liggett will be taken over by me. It overlooks the Rhine, has a fine ground floor, and five bedrooms with two baths on the first floor.

To-night for dinner at the Coblenzerhof I had ex-Prime Minister Asquith, his secretary, Mr. Phillips, the French liaison officer, and Craig. Mr. Asquith was most agreeable, entertaining, and affable. He seemed strongly impressed with the virility of the German people. To-day marks my official assumption of command over the American Forces in Germany.

July 10. The permanent forces for the American occupation will amount to approximately 7000. A squadron in addition to that will be asked for. I lunched to-day with General Mangin at Mayence in the palace belonging to the Duke of Hesse, where he is now living. One of the anterooms was Napoleon's, and now contains his bed. At lunch we met Madame Mangin and her exceptional French family of seven children. General Mangin spoke of the importance of weakening Germany by such a measure as the Rhine Republic would be if established. He told me that in Germany one hundred million marks had been raised to foment propaganda and to prepare an army to retaliate for the present enforced peace. He seems to be specially anxious to maintain the most friendly relations with us.

July 11. Have decided to accept General Pershing's *invitation* to go to Paris, and will proceed there by rail,

probably returning in the Locomobile now being prepared there for me. Mr. Noyes came to see me this morning; we discussed his relations to the Rhineland High Commission and its relation to the various armies of occupation in the Rhineland. Until the Allies sign the treaty, this Commission cannot exercise its full functions. The old Commission without the word "High" remains.

Harbord makes it clear that from now on all matters pertaining to the command here should be settled by me and not referred to G.H.Q.

Marshal Foch continues to determine the policy in the Rhineland.

July 13. On leaving Coblenz yesterday for Paris it was reported that the German blockade was about to be raised. Have had a conference with both Pershing and Harbord to-day, but my stay in the Rhineland was so short, and our orientation there under the new system so slight, that nothing very definite could be determined.

Already the crowds are swarming along the Champs Élysées and literally filling the Place de la Concorde, both of which are beautifully decorated. Next to General Pershing, I am the senior American general present for the parade.

July 14. We got up at 5 A.M., breakfasted before 6, and were assembled at 73 rue Varenne at 6.45. The crowds are appalling. Never before have I seen as many people in one day as thronged the streets throughout the entire length of a march. This Victory Parade was on a scale probably never equaled before in the history of the modern world and probably no other city could have so well staged this gala spectacle. We were just one hour and forty minutes on the march, passing through the Arc de Triomphe, Champs Élysées, and Place de la République.

I find that General Pershing, Hines, and myself were the only American generals invited to the President's dinner to-night. This dinner, "Réunion de la Victoire," was also one of the most remarkable I have ever attended. Madame Poincaré was the only lady present, but there were, in addition to the Ministers of War and Navy, three Field

Marshals, including Haig; and nearly all of the French and Allied high military commanders were there. Why Marshal Joffre was absent I know not.

July 16. This trip to Paris for one day involved much travel, but such a day as the 14th was this year, including that wonderful parade and extraordinary dinner, was well worth the journey. The King of Montenegro bestowed on Harry and myself the Order of Danilo 1st.

July 17. Brigadier-General Simonds, who came up to be my chief of staff, and Fox Conner are here and dined with me to-day. The French are beginning to show signs of wanting to come into the American area. Some small units have already come in, and I imagine that, with the diminution of our forces, they feel that they will be entitled to take over part of this area. Surely we must have a certain area that is all our own, and that shall be my policy unless turned down by higher authority. Germany seems thus far to be endeavoring to carry out the provisions of the treaty.

July 18. The fine sunshine this morning was most favorable for the decoration ceremonies carried out by Marshal Pétain. His special train arrived at ten o'clock. Craig and myself were waiting at the station to meet him. McGlachlin, Howze, Sladen, and Bamford were the generals to be honored by him, but the last two were absent. The ceremony took place on Clemens Platz with the usual military setting. Several Médailles Militaires were given to soldiers. Marshal Pétain's remarks to each one, after asking what battles he had participated in, were much to the point. He seemed to make a great difference between those who actually fought and those who simply served, and it was notable that, when he learned that one of my generals had not commanded at the Front, his attitude toward him changed. Photographers were much in evidence after the ceremony.

July 19. I have sent a communication to the Commander-in-Chief urging the maintenance of the American sector here unshared with any other country.

July 20. The Commanding General of the 10th British Corps at Cologne has asked me for luncheon. His adjutant signed the invitation, thus again showing how little importance our British cousins attach to courtesies recognized by other countries. My answer was formal and direct to the corps commander.

German life was in full evidence this afternoon; people were out in the open-air restaurants, on the river and on the highways.

At six o'clock I received a telegram from General Pershing, Carlton Hotel, London, asking me to send a battalion of best troops down to Brussels to represent him there at the Peace Jubilee on the 22d. As this is absolutely the first intimation concerning this matter, it requires some hustling.

July 21. The troops started out this morning early. General Fayolle commanding the Eighth and Tenth Armies, with headquarters at Kaiserslautern, arrived by boat from Bingen for lunch at noon. He with his three staff officers, and Harts, Couannier, Harry, and myself, made a luncheon party of eight, which went off with ample ease and gayety. We talked of the altruism and adolescence of the United States; of its participation in the Great War; and its probable attitude toward Europe in peace. We did not reach Brussels till after midnight, and there I found my *agents* waiting to have me decide whether I should ride throughout or stop at the reviewing stand near the palace where the King would witness the pass-by. It seems that my arrival was not anticipated, but, when the King learned that the American contingent was headed by an officer of higher rank than the representatives from the other countries, he decided to give me the alternative of passing by as the others were to do or of stopping at the reviewing stand. I decided on the latter, and am now the guest of the Belgian Government at the Monopole.

July 22. The rain started early and continued all day. The troops were lined up, with Americans on the right, by

8.15, but the King and Marshal Foch did not leave the palace until 9.30. They reviewed the troops in automobiles. In spite of the rain the great crowd was very enthusiastic and threw thousands of posies as we passed. I feel sure that it was not contemplated that America should make quite such a large exhibit. The other countries had officers for the parade much junior to myself, although France had a strong delegation, both military and civil, at the reviewing stand. In looking at the flags that decorated the city there is little doubt that the occasion was chiefly Franco-Belgian.

At the reviewing stand, the King and Queen, the President and Madame Poincaré greeted me very cordially, but Marshal Foch less so than usual, I thought. At the tribunal the King expressed much pleasure that General Pershing had sent troops. After lunch in the palace he expressed regret that he could not have had more of my officers to lunch; in fact, I feel that he would have liked to do more for us, and that thought is confirmed by Major Hoffman, our Military Attaché. The late information with respect to our participation and the surprise at the prompt reaction thereto indicate that there were some counter-motives at work.

The lunch was very fine and without speeches. Later, at the Hôtel de Ville and at the dinner at the palace where only the French were invited, there were speeches indicative of the political character of this celebration. Naturally, had I known the nature of the ceremonies that were to take place, a different and smaller representation would have been sent. As it was, our representation was in a measure a miniature of what had been staged by General Pershing in Paris on Victory Day, July 14th. Many compliments were paid our troops which, of course, showed larger men than any other; besides, our formation of three columns of squads, almost without intervals, gave the effect of great strength and solidity.

The following invitation has been received:

General Robertson, the C. in C. of the British Army on the

Rhine, invites General Allen with one staff officer to take lunch with him at 1 P.M. on Saturday, July 26th. If he accepts, General Allen will be expected to arrive at the Cathedral Square at 12.30 P.M. where a guard of honor will be paraded for him and where General Robertson will meet him. If General Allen can come, Colonel Biddle will arrange any further details.

July 23. Although our base-port at Antwerp is not yet under my command, I decided to visit it after leaving Brussels this morning. Kelly is in charge here with Burleigh as chief of staff.

July 24. A mixture of political, commercial, domestic, and sport matters have come up: exposure of the pool whereby the German purchasers of our excess stores were controlling prices; reports from General Harries concerning his activities in Germany; inspection of the ponies arrived from Paris; distribution of the space in my new house on the Rhein Anlagen; arrival of Senator and Mrs. Saulsbury; designation of officers for service at the Rhineland Commission; persistency of the French in marching through this area without giving previous notification; and the selection of a polo team to play the British at Cologne.

The "flotilla" assigned or taken for use of the American Forces on the Rhine consists of a small steamer called the *Preussen* and a small launch.

In thinking over the political aspects of the Belgian fêtes, it must be admitted that France is quite right to make earnest effort to secure commercial advantages in Belgium and to bind that state as closely to her as may be. She must look to her commercial future.

July 25. We reached Andernach this morning at nine o'clock, where Howze, Commander of the 3d Division, met us. We visited two or three kitchens where the flies were entirely too numerous, the home of some Benedictine monks at Laacher See, and then the target range in camp. The artillery brigade was doing practice with the light Brownings as though they were ordinary shoulder pieces, but always lying down. There was also some practice with the one-pounder. I would substitute a shoulder automatic

rifle to take the place of the present rifle and the light Browning, and I would have the accompanying gun take the place of the Stokes mortar and the one-pounder. Returning to Andernach, I inspected and reviewed a battalion there which was not especially well set up, nor did it pass by in review with sufficient snap; in fact, neither officers nor men of this battalion are as smart as they should be for one of the regular divisions kept over here.

July 26. Before sending Colonel Gilbert over to the Rhineland Commission as a legal adviser, I talked at length with him this morning with reference to my views concerning the Rhineland and what seemed to me desirable as a policy for American representation here.

At ten o'clock I started down the river with Harts to pay my respects to General Sir William Robertson, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces at Cologne. I was met by him at his office in the Dom Hotel in Cathedral Platz. A battalion was drawn up in line facing away from the great façade of the cathedral. A finer setting for such an exhibition, with the vast throng of people, I have rarely seen. After the presentation I made an inspection with the Commander-in-Chief, after which the troops were marched past. The consideration shown us throughout our visit to-day at Cologne proves to me, if proofs were still necessary, that the British are very desirous of maintaining and strengthening good relations between our countries.

General Robertson was accompanied by General Haldane and two other lieutenant-generals. After the ceremony we went to a superb villa on the Rhine which General Robertson now occupies, for luncheon with various officers of his staff, Lady Robertson, her daughter of about eighteen, and Mrs. Dillon. From there we went to the polo field to see a match game.

General Robertson told me that he would hold all his divisions on the Rhine until the treaty is ratified and that it would probably not be considered ratified until the United States had acted.

July 27. The arrangement or Magna Charta of the Rhineland High Commission came this morning, and after reading it over carefully I have ordered it published.

General Robertson thinks that Marshal Foch will soon retire and be succeeded by a French general who will be charged with the command of the Allied Forces on the Rhine. This chief, whoever he be, will probably lock horns with the High Commission, thus relieving the separate commanders of any such necessity. My experience with the commission in the Philippine Islands should have prepared me for the relations that will follow here on ratification. With the disappearance of troops, civil affairs are assuming large proportions, and Colonel Hunt, who is my assistant for that work, will handle it ably. Barton's successful economic administration at the house shows him to be capable and I have this day designated him as aide.

CHAPTER II

THE ANXIETY OF THE FRENCH

French want foothold in American zone — A truck-load of musicians — My refusal to yield Ehrenbreitstein to the French — Pershing arrives — General Hutchison — Decline of the franc and mark — The greed of nations — I visit General Michel, commander of the Belgian Army on the Rhine — In Paris — General Mangin — Inspections — Marshal Joffre visits Coblenz — Fraternizing allowed — Horse show day — An Indian prince.

July 28, 1919. The world is dreadfully upset — Silesian strikes and fighting between the Poles and Germans, fearful troubles in Hungary, strikes in England, and disturbances in Greece and Croatia.

I have written General Pershing that we ought to hold not only the Stadt Kreis, but also the Land Kreis of Coblenz. But I am advised by wire that a commission has been organized by the Superior Allied Command to meet in my office July 30th for the purpose of considering the division of this zone, and probably of the town itself, with the French.

General Pershing wires me to rush sixteen musicians to Paris in a truck to play there to-morrow night.

Sir Harold Stuart, British High Commissioner, came to me to-day to complain of an American officer who insisted on looking at the rooms in his house in spite of the protests of his wife. He was assured that this was probably the billeting officer who had exceeded his authority and that the matter would be fully investigated.

July 30. The French commission for the division of this area came for a conference with me at 1.30. It was composed of representatives from the High Allied Command of Foch, headquarters of the group of armies, Fayolle, and headquarters of the Tenth Army, Mangin. Their first proposition was to divide Coblenz and use it as a reservoir for furnishing both American and French troops in the protection of the American bridgehead. I countered this as strongly as possible by telling of the danger of friction

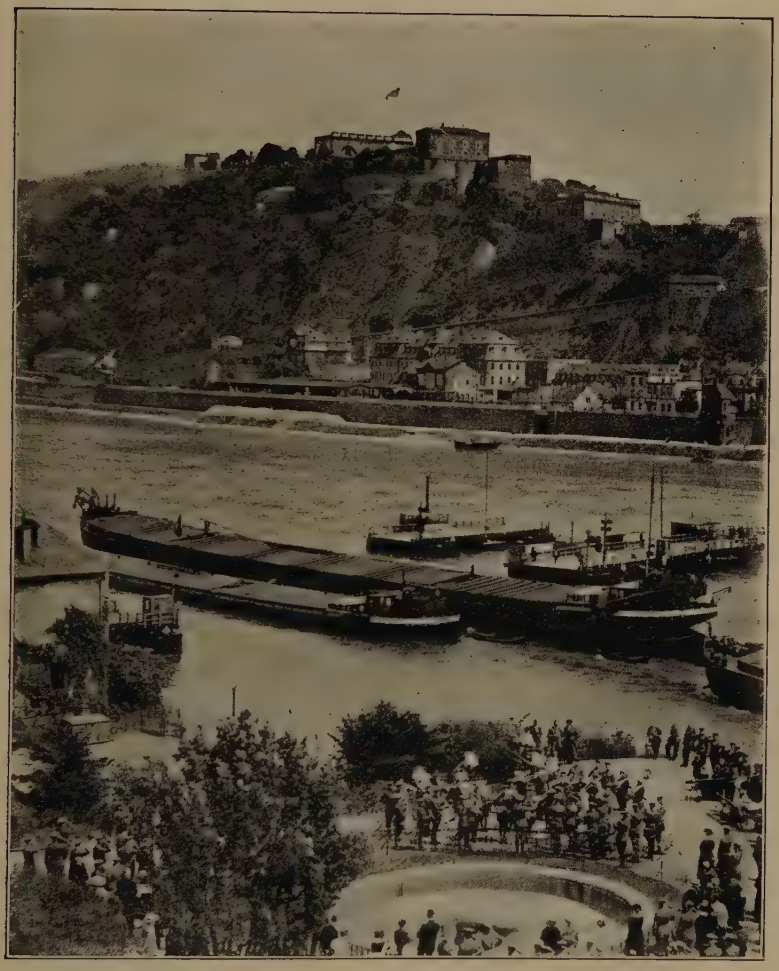
and disagreements that would follow their having troops in the same town with ours, which they finally admitted; then they seemed to acquiesce in my proposition of giving them all Trèves and all the temporary barracks in the present 1st and 3d Division areas. They also asked that I turn over Ehrenbreitstein to them. In reply to this, I asked them to come to the window, and I pointed to our colors flying on that fortress, and said:

"Your country has much sentiment, for which I admire it. We Americans also have some sentiment. That flag was hoisted on our arrival and we attach sentimental importance to seeing it remain there as long as we are on the Rhine. Moreover, I am convinced that it is of more importance for you that it fly there than it is for us. Do you think it would be well for us to take it down even at the solicitation of a friendly power?"

The French gave a musicale here to-night, but there were practically no Germans present. After a dinner party at my house we went to hear this French music, which was good; still it is rather certain that the Germans are not at this moment desirous of hearing French music under French auspices.

July 31. I changed 760 francs and received 1900 marks to-day, thus showing the tendency of the mark. On reaching my office at 8.20 this morning I found the French colonel from Marshal Foch's headquarters with a new typewritten draft of the French version of our conference yesterday. After some slight alterations, I signed it as he desired.

General Mangin arrived about noon for an official visit, and after rendering him honors by a battalion of the 1st Division, which he inspected and reviewed, I conducted him to my house for luncheon. There were various members of my staff and the Tauffliebs present. The appearance of this battalion was not equal to what I had anticipated and not up to that of any battalion of the 90th Division. I know it is almost heresy to speak thus of this premier division in both senses of the word, a division



EHRENBREITSTEIN

whose longer fighting record surpassed that of any other, and yet what is stated here is a fact.

General Mangin has no idea how much his force will eventually be, as it is estimated from five to ten divisions. He frankly states that he is not absolutely sure he will remain in command. The future of the French Army, like our own, remains to be determined. General Pershing's visit here will be gladly welcomed because I am especially anxious to arrive at a final understanding as to what our limitations are to be; and in my opinion he should settle that before leaving for the United States.

August 1. The Tauffliebs left this morning very reluctantly; they wanted to wait and see General Pershing. Instead of arriving at noon, however, Pershing's train came in at two. A small guard greeted him at the station; then there was a battalion parade for him on the Platz, after which he and Quekemeyer came to the house, the others going to the Coblenzerhof. A little later Fox Conner came up and a conference began.

There was evidently no reason for my deep apprehension due to the telegram received from Harbord concerning the French delegation. I set forth the whole matter concerning the division of our area with the French; then read the report made by the two French officers, and the one made by me. General Pershing seemed to be convinced, and stated that it is simply another effort of the French to secure a holding in Coblenz; that he had had an issue with Marshal Foch once before on the same subject; that if the French persisted in their demands he would recommend to the President that our troops on the Rhine be withdrawn; and that he would communicate this to Marshal Foch. While he was making this statement, it was evident that he was carefully weighing his words. He finally directed Conner to draft a letter to Marshal Foch setting forth his views with respect to the importance of our holding both the Land Kreis and the Stadt Kreis of Coblenz without sharing any part of it. In view of certain correspondence that had preceded, I was somewhat surprised

that General Pershing's views were absolutely in accordance with mine as to the maintenance of the American status and dignity on the Rhine on a parity with that of the other powers, regardless of the size of our force.

August 3. Although retiring late last night I was early at headquarters this morning. In general I am there before any other officer. Four members of the Rhineland Commission came to see me this morning, partly to pay their respects and largely to make certain requests. M. Tirard, the President, did most of the talking. He wants one of my officers detailed with one or more officials of the Commission to determine upon the distribution of the buildings in Coblenz for offices as well as lodging purposes, between the Commission and my command. He also asks that commissary privileges be extended to messes or clubs run by the Commission or under his authority, and he is also especially anxious to have the French participate in the utilization of the Coblenzerhof.

August 4. General Hutchison says the British forces will be cut down right away to a division, and a little later to still less. That is a great surprise to them and also to me.

Dinner had to be delayed due to the late arrival of three Congressmen, Hicks of New York, Slemp of Virginia, and Echols of West Virginia. Mr. Slemp leaves the impression that the treaty must be ratified with certain reservations, that the Democrats may not get all the credit for it.

August 5. The races to-day were a decided success. Again the British show that they are masters in matters relating to horses. It was a little bit surprising and somewhat disconcerting to notice that only English and American flags were in evidence at the meeting, although there were two French generals and quite a number of French and Belgian officers present. While that was very flattering to us, it seemed to me a little bit discriminatory and impolitic. Perhaps it was merely an oversight.

August 6. Mr. Noyes this morning confirms what I suspected, that usually he and Sir Harold Stuart are on one side while Tirard and the Italian representative are

on the other. He spoke at length of Tirard's evident desire to dominate everything. It seems that the French desire a Rhine Republic over which they may exercise a sort of protectorate. There may be a Rhine Republic, but in my opinion it will not tolerate French domination for any considerable period. The British military authorities, our own and our Commission, seem to feel that the French do not show the frankness that should be expected. I have listened to all of them talk, but without condemning our gallant allies. Their status on the Rhine is quite different from that of others.

General Sladen reported this morning to take command of the infantry here, and I have also put him in command of the machine-gun battalion so that he may not have to be demoted.

August 7. About 125 engineer officers arrived yesterday, and came in a body to call on me this morning.

I sent General Robertson a telegram of congratulation on the receipt of £10,000 given him by his Government for war service. That is a most tangible way of rewarding officials for highly meritorious performance of duty which has not found a place in recent times in our Government.

August 8. General Robertson arrived at noon to-day, accompanied by the Earl of Carnarvon and his wife, the Countess. They came direct to my headquarters, whence we went to Clemens Platz for the battalion inspection and review, then to the house for luncheon, which was plainer than usual.

This afternoon we got a decision from G.H.Q. regarding our future holdings here, and though we retain Coblenz proper as well as Ehrenbreitstein, with our present bridgehead to the east, it was seen fit to give up Coblenz-Lützel just across the Mosel, an integral part of this city. It is evident that the French had fully decided on getting a strong hold in Coblenz. I am convinced that under no circumstances should we give up that part of this city which contains the railway terminals, the plants for public

utilities, and our storehouses. To permit that would produce the greatest inconvenience for us.

General Robertson has invited me up for a big parade of the British forces which he is to give in honor of Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for War, whom I shall probably also entertain here.

August 9. I went to the Coblenzerhof and brought General Gouraud to my headquarters. After a short stay there, we proceeded to Clemens Platz where the Composite Battalion of the 1st Division was drawn up for him. He inspected it and reviewed it. The usual photographs were taken. He seems to appreciate highly the services of the American divisions that served under him, especially the 42d. At Ehrenbreitstein we decorated twenty-eight officers and men, he bestowing the French distinctions, and I the American and Belgian.

The Roumanian troops continue to hold Budapest. . . . So far the peace treaty does not seem to have brought peaceful results.

August 10. I had a conference with Mr. Noyes concerning the proposed ceding of Lützel to the French, in order that he might be fully oriented when he reaches Paris to-morrow. He proposes to see General Pershing and bring about a meeting with our delegates, Polk, White, and Bliss, in Paris. If my presence is required, he will telegraph me. This morning two general staff officers from General Mangin were here to talk over this transfer with Harts, whom I had already informed that no such action would take place without further instructions from General Pershing. The French are obsessed with holding part of this city, and Lützel is better than nothing. While it is largely political with them, it is militarily essential for us. These two officers joined me for luncheon, and one of them openly defends the policy of detaching the Rhine Province from Prussia that it may serve as a buffer state. He bases the feasibility of the measure on historical grounds, on the sympathy between these people and the French, and he reckons strongly on increasing this

THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE AT COBLENZ

sympathy by having the French soldiers, who are "bons enfants," fraternize with the people. He says that the French holding force will be 85,000 men with General Mangin in command, and says also that the French will have a corps headquarters at Aix-la-Chapelle, but he does not know to what place the Belgians will move from there. He considers the Rhine question of extreme importance to France.

August 11. The French are now crowding us here in their earnest efforts to dominate the Rhine. They have gone so far as to require instruction in French to the German children in the Kreis of Simmern. I always strive to see the Rhine from their viewpoint.

This afternoon I made a thorough inspection of our big plants in Lützel, and became more strongly convinced than ever that that part of this city is essential to us. I found to-day a repair shop with 110 men, ostensibly for M. Tirard, which had been established across the Rhine at the foot of Ehrenbreitstein without any authority from me. Such acts as these are not conducive to confidence. I was asked this morning whether it would be convenient for me to receive two French officers who wanted to deliver a letter from Marshal Foch; it was not a question of a conference, but they would be able to answer any question I might ask concerning the letter.

August 12. About noon a telegram arrived from G.H.Q., saying our Commander-in-Chief would see me as soon as I arrived in Paris, so I decided to make the 1.30 train. That necessitated informing the French officers that my engagement at 3.30 could not take place, and I asked that they bring Marshal Foch's letter either to my headquarters or to my house. This letter was presented by a representative of the Marshal, of General Payot, and the head of the French Mission. Although they said they did not want a conference, I had much difficulty in finishing my luncheon, and they were told emphatically that Lützel would not be given up unless I got further orders from my Commander-in-Chief. I had to leave them as well as my British guests

rather hastily, but doubtless they appreciated the circumstances.

August 13. With my G–4, Lieutenant-Colonel Sommervell, I arrived here in Paris at 6.30 this morning and was met by an automobile from G.H.Q. which carried us to the Ritz Hotel. My telegram regarding rooms had not been received at the hotel, so there was difficulty in securing accommodations. In the mean time I went to the Crillon, where I got into telephonic communication with General Pershing and was directed to confer immediately with General Fox Conner. As our Commissioner, Mr. Noyes, was at the Crillon, I had a talk with him before going over to see Conner. The latter had already written to the Marshal a letter for General Pershing's signature, in which he asked a reconsideration of the matter, and the right to hold Lützel.

After lunch with General Pershing, Conner and I went to confer with General Weygand, the Marshal's chief of staff. The conference lasted about half an hour. I endeavored to show him how fruitful in friction and discord would be the holding in Coblenz by French and Americans; then I pointed out the extreme importance of Lützel to us. Conner followed up by advising in behalf of General Pershing that we take over the entire Bezirk of Coblenz. That somewhat surprised Weygand, but he returned to the necessity of having barracks for the 85,000 French on the Rhine and said that he was going to have trouble also with the British at Cologne and the Belgians at Aix-la-Chapelle.

August 14. I had a conference with General Bliss this morning, in which Mr. Noyes participated. While Bliss was rather sphinx-like as usual, he ended by saying that I could count upon Polk, White, and himself. He thought we should have kept a division at Coblenz. I caught Mr. White just as he was leaving for a vacation, and had quite a talk with him concerning our status on the Rhine. He was possibly more impressed than any one of the three with respect to the importance of our having a wholly worthy and dignified status.

August 16. The franc and mark continue to drop, the former being 7.80 to the dollar and the latter, 43.

August 18. With Harts, Montgomery, and Wainwright, I left Coblenz at eight o'clock, and arrived at Cologne at the Excelsior Hotel on Cathedral Platz, in two hours. That hotel is taken over by the British and is the headquarters of the Army of the Rhine. My liaison officer, Colonel Biddle, has his headquarters there. We went out to the Kalk Aviation grounds where General Robertson had assembled about 8500 troops of all categories and branches for an inspection and review by the Army Council, headed by Winston Churchill, now Secretary of State for War. Field Marshal Henry Wilson and General Chetwode were also in the party. I was presented by General Robertson to the various members of the Army Council and became a member of the reviewing party, the only foreign representative present.

Mr. Churchill was in long morning coat and high white hat with black band. He said he was very proud of the D.S.M. with which General Pershing had decorated him; that he did not know whether or not his limited time from England would permit him to visit the American zone, but that that depended on General Robertson's arrangements.

The Council made the inspection, some in motors, some on horseback, after which the review began. The line was twice as long as it should have been, thus necessitating considerable marching before the march-by began. The troops defiled in fairly thin formations, then marched back *en masse*, the mounted troops the second time at the trot. This is the final review before the general departure of most of the British forces on the Rhine.

Chetwode says the British soldier costs 12*s.* 6*d.* daily per capita, including officers. He considers the three British storm centers at present are India, Palestine including Syria and Egypt, and Ireland. He spoke in the highest terms of the cavalry in Mesopotamia during the war and cited various examples — one of a cavalry brigade killing

400 infantry and capturing 1400, much of the work being done with the lance.

August 19. General Fayolle wants another conference, but I answered that, until General Pershing's proposal to take over the entire Coblenz Bezirk was acted upon, a conference could have no *raison d'être*.

A confidential letter from General Pershing suggests that our troops which occupied the Schloss of the Princess of Hohenzollern, a sister of the Belgian King, had not comported themselves properly while there, and directed me to look into this matter. This was something of a surprise inasmuch as that Schloss was occupied by General Sladen. I had him around to tell him of this letter and to ask him for details in order that I might make proper answer. He informed me that there must be some mistake about this, because their relations throughout had, as far as he knew, been very formal, but apparently satisfactory. Prince Hohenzollern is an invalid. The mother and son were very hostile to Americans and English, but the two daughters were very kindly disposed to our young officers, members of General Sladen's staff.

The taking over of Persia by the British is a bomb in the camp of the Peace Conference, especially in the French quarter. Every day I become more convinced of the greed, if not perfidy, of states.

August 20. Our wireless took from the Annapolis station to-day the President's speech of yesterday at the Senate conference. He made an extraordinarily good defense of the League as well as of the treaty.

August 21. It seems that the French are not anxious to have the Trèves region; in any event, they want us to maintain civil administration there. Just why they wish this, I do not know.

Our polo team beat the British team, captained by General Haig, here to-day, by a score of 6 to 3. He and his wife are stopping at the house.

Hoover has announced his intention of liquidating American relief work, thus leaving certain European na-

GENERAL HUTCHISON (LATER M.P.) FIELD-MARSHAL ROBERTSON, AND WINSTON CHURCHILL AT COLOGNE

GENERAL MANGIN AND GENERAL ALLEN

tions to feed themselves in the normal way. Unfortunately there is very little that is normal in Europe. France, for example, has thirty-six billion francs in outstanding debts of various sorts; before the war this total was six billions.

August 23. Information has at last come from Marshal Foch that no French troops are to come into the Land Kreis of Coblenz, but just what territory will be turned over to them is not known yet. That is assuredly a good piece of news because it means the elimination of what would have been a permanent cause of friction — troops of different countries holding the same administrative locality.

August 25. To-day I made my official visit to General Michel, commanding the Belgian Army on the Rhine, with headquarters at Aix-la-Chapelle. With me were Harts, two aides, and Henneleeres, the Belgian liaison officer.

August 26. Dr. Dorten's activities in the American zone are coming to the front in an acute fashion. I am not positively sure that our policy forbidding any propaganda relative to the Rhine Republic is sound. However, it has been approved by our G.H.Q. and is followed by the British, while the French are giving Dr. Dorten their full "aid and comfort." It is reported that General Gérard, commanding the Eighth Army at Landau, favors the Pfalz Republic (Palatinate), the Mainz Republic, and the Cologne Republic. Feeling as they do, it is probable that they would like to be at the helm also in Coblenz and Cologne. My view relative to policy in the American area is to leave the Germans as free a hand as is compatible with order and compliance with the provisions of the treaty.

Colonel Sommervell informed me this morning that he is to marry Miss Purnell, of the Y.M.C.A., on Thursday, and has asked me to "give her away."

August 27. This morning, with the chief of staff and G–3, I made an inspection of the artillery, battalion personnel, horses, and barracks. While the material was not horsed, I inspected it also. The worst element of all is the undersized, ill-shaped men. The United States certainly

needs the physical culture that would go with general conscription.

James J. Pershing, the Commander-in-Chief's brother, a manufacturer from Chicago, lunched with me to-day. He gives a distressing picture of the situation in the United States and says labor is arrogant beyond all reason; that wages are absurdly high, and the workers are clamoring for more. He even thinks there might be a revolution in the United States within six months. He says the politicians are giving labor all it demands, but no concession is satisfactory for more than a short period. His views, if sound, would be very alarming.

August 28. The marriage ceremony of Sommervell took place in the Palace chapel to-day, with a British clergyman from Cologne officiating. There were six bridesmaids and six ushers. This was followed by a very elaborate lunch at the Coblenzerhof where I toasted the bride.

This morning the Belgian Commissioner called on me to pay his respects and likewise to make inquiries concerning billets for his personnel. He is interested in steel and coal industries and does not reckon on remaining here long. This afternoon our Commissioner, Noyes, called, also largely to talk over the billeting question. I let both of them understand that there would be no secret methods employed; that there would be a square deal with Commission and army; that both would get equal treatment; and that the Germans should also have some consideration.

Dined with the French High Commissioner, M. Tirard, in the Seligmann house on Clemens Platz. Tirard now thinks it a mistake for the French to advocate a Rhine Republic.

August 29. A confidential letter from Pershing to-day suggests a conciliatory policy in small matters, but firmness in large questions of principle.

Through some mistake, Dr. Dorten, the would-be president of the Rhenish Republic, was to come to see me to-morrow. Naturally, I informed the chief of staff and G–2 that I never, at any time, contemplated seeing him

After careful study of our past policy with respect to any detachments by France from Germany, strongly favored by General Mangin and General Gérard, I am convinced that this policy is sound and that we should not permit any measures tending to revolution or to a *coup d'état* in the American zone. I am disposed to believe that Dr. Dorten should not be allowed to remain in the Coblenz bridgehead, though he may speak with my G–2 when he desires.

I have just received a copy of Marshal French's "1914."

August 30. Mr. Adams returned from London this morning and says he was unable to make any satisfactory sales because of the fact that dollars are demanded and all European money is too depressed, with a tendency to go still lower. We are left with practically $50,000,000 worth of supplies, largely motor vehicles and animals.

The Assistant Secretary of War, Crowell, arrived while I was at lunch. Instead of remaining nine days as reported, he must return to-morrow. That makes my departure seem rather indelicate, but I ought to have a final conference with General Pershing before he sails for the United States. I left at 1.30 with Major Harris, to present a few G–4 matters to General W. D. Connor, who will be charged with clearing up the A.E.F. The President of the Rhineland Commission was on the train and we discussed various matters, including the Rhenish Republic and Dr. Dorten. He left the impression that he was endeavoring to get certain information from me without disclosing his own views.

August 31. After coffee at the Crillon, we went over to 45 avenue Montaigne, which to-day becomes headquarters, A.E.F. Arriving a little early, I went down to General Pershing's house and had a conference with Fox Conner. At last we get all we asked for in the matter of the American zone. We are to hold it, but authorize the French to have in Coblenz a guard for the Rhineland High Commissioner, not to exceed one company of infantry. The question of lines of communication to Paris is left to me

for determination with Marshal Foch's headquarters. I got definite instructions with respect to the use of American troops, whether in Silesia or in the Schleswig plebiscite, or anywhere outside of my zone, based on instructions recommended by General Pershing. The Secretary of War's approval must first be obtained. I am to keep in close touch with General Bliss, who, Pershing told me, has fully coöperated with him throughout. The prospective arrival in the American zone of the five thousand combat troops destined for Silesia, allowed Marshal Foch to accept our proposal, greatly at variance with his former intention as to the Coblenz bridgehead.

September 1. Harts wired that the Germans had refused to permit the shipment of 6000 horses sold to Poland, because of alleged coal shortage. I wrote General Weygand, Marshal Foch's chief of staff, touching on the importance of our getting rid of these animals. I then sent for Colonel Howland, our liaison with the Polish authorities in Paris, to bring the matter to his attention and especially to find out what he knew about it. After he had seen those charged with Polish matters, he returned with information tending to show that Poland did not intend to carry out the contract made by certain Polish agents and that these animals might be turned back to us. He also stated that France had 1600 officers in Poland, some of whom had commercial ends in view, and that the Poles were very anxious to have only Americans there, but that neither the French nor the British were pleased with that.

September 2. We boarded the train at eight o'clock last night at Paris and had a long, tiresome trip, with a stop at Metz of two hours; it is estimated that 37,000 undesirables have been sent out of Metz and its environs back into Germany. The city is being gallicized as fast as possible, but it looks far from prosperous. The population was greatly increased by German soldiery; now the same thing is being done by the French soldiery. The city is, in fact, an enormous *place d'armes*.

September 4. I played eight chukkas of polo to-day.

This game furnishes me my principal exercise and goes far toward keeping me in good physical condition.

September 5. Had calls this morning from "Big Bill" Edwards representing the Red Cross, two postal officials who want to readjust the policy here, Madame Beck from Luxembourg, and Captain Caldwell, U.S.N.

Mr. LaRue Brown, Assistant Attorney-General, presented a letter of introduction from Secretary Baker. General Mangin arrived with four officers and my liaison. All of them and Mr. Brown came to dinner.

General Mangin spoke at length about the Rhenish Republic with which he is obsessed. He considers it "*une affaire d'importance capitale.*" He thinks we have Boches on the *Amaroc News;* that Dr. Dorten believes that the British and Americans are standing out together against the Republic. When I informed him that neither Clemenceau nor Poincaré was for it, he replied that M. Poincaré had spoken to him in favor of it. He admitted that neither one had come out publicly for it, but explained that by saying that to do so would be distasteful to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George.

September 7. This morning early I went for a look at the troops in Fort Ehrenbreitstein, where I appeared at the mess table in time for a cup of coffee. Naturally the officers were surprised to see me. From there I went to the cavalry squadron where conditions were not very satisfactory.

We had Miss Marbury for lunch. She is another whirlwind talker who seems to have her talons ready at all times for some of her advanced sisters who have been doing prominent work in Europe. While we were eating, Miss Anne Morgan phoned from Mainz to say she would arrive to-morrow, with a letter from General Pershing.

Colonel Read, my inspector, went out to the limits of our bridgehead to-day to investigate the killing by German soldiers of one of our men who is reported to have gone hunting in the neutral zone, beyond our limits.

September 8. Mr. Isaac Marcosson, of the *Saturday Evening Post,* arrived to-day and was here for lunch. He

is an aggressive, intelligent man of forty, who is keenly interested in the economic rehabilitation of Germany. His preconceived notions of this will make him an optimist.

Jean Guillemin arrived to-day and is stopping in the house. He is keenly interested in world politics, speaks English excellently, and talks a great deal. He is an admirer of America's capacity to do. As we were together in St. Petersburg in the nineties, it is very agreeable to talk over old times there.

The President has come out for a mandate over Armenia, including 100,000 American soldiers. That certainly sounds strange: he thought a battalion sufficient for this post.

Pershing has been designated General of the American Armies, by act of Congress.

September 10. The German General Koch, with two officers, came in to see me this morning, in accordance with my request for a report concerning the killing of the American soldier. I endeavored to make it plain to him that he should be as much interested as myself in seeing that justice was meted out; that under no circumstances should he attempt to discipline my men in the neutral zone, where Reichswehr troops were tolerated in violation of treaty stipulations, solely upon the urgent request of the Weimar Assembly; and that when my men went out into that zone in violation of my instructions, his officers should notify mine. The captain commanding the detachment said that he had been requested by American officers who formerly served in the eastern limits of the American bridgehead, to arrest our men who were out in the neutral zone. Their claim is that our soldier was killed by a German soldier acting in self-defense, but they conceded that our second soldier should not have been mistreated as he was. Koch agreed to send the ten men into Puderbach for investigation and examination by my officers. I promised him that, if we decided to try any of them, the arrests and delivery would be asked of him. The whole question is an interesting one, but in my mind is difficult only in case he fails to give up the men, if the demand is made.

September 11. After deducting five per cent for payment within thirty days, I sent Peal $45.80 for a pair of boots, a sum that is hardly justified by either the increased cost of leather or of labor. The franc and mark are still falling; the former is twelve cents and the latter a little more than four cents. France's budget is about twenty-five milliards and her revenue about seventeen milliards; she is therefore running behind at the rate of eight milliards per year and presumably these conditions will continue for some time unless indemnities from Germany change that status.

We have as guests General and Lady Lawford, who are here with the polo players.

September 12. The weather is uncomfortably warm, and that is very unusual, indeed, on the Rhine. The Lawfords, the Wittfelds, and Guillemin with certain others have been here for lunch and dinner to-day. At the polo game this afternoon the British team beat us by a score of 10 to 4. My record was one goal and one foul. They simply outplayed us, but the game was very interesting. After dinner, about forty were invited in for a dance.

September 13. The strike on the French railways during the past three days has cut off much of our mail.

As an example to others, I have decided to send back to the States a young major for staying too persistently by the side of the punch-bowl here last night. He will also learn that such greediness is not gentility.

Germany is very reluctant to expunge Article 61 from its constitution and thereby lose Austria from its empire. A communication was received yesterday wherein Marshal Foch authorizes the Germans to maintain in the neutral zone for a period of three months after the ratification of the treaty, twenty battalions, ten batteries, and eight squadrons.

September 15. A cable from Washington says I am to retain my Major-Generalcy.

September 16. I am sending my judge-advocate to Marshal Foch's headquarters to ascertain his policy before making a demand on the German authorities to turn over

those soldiers for trial. This case, though comparatively simple in itself, involves a number of questions of a rather delicate character, and I want to be very certain that no unfortunate results ensue from it.

I notified the Rhineland Commission that we are prepared to handle all their telegraph business between here and Paris, in order that there may not be unnecessary duplication of lines.

September 17. Had a conference in my office this morning with respect to the lines of communication the French should have in this area of Coblenz, and found it necessary to speak very definitely concerning my unwillingness to have General Payot exercise direct jurisdiction over them. Russell, my liaison with him, was here with others from his headquarters, and it was necessary to inform all concerned that instructions bearing on any lines of communication in this zone must go through my chief signal officer. This, too, seems a rather unimportant question, but a principle of decided importance is involved in it.

September 18. Harts and I dined with the machine-gunners at Ehrenbreitstein in the casemate dining-room, where there were fifty-six in all. It was the formal opening of this mess. From there we went to the opening of our A.L.A. library of ten thousand volumes, installed in what was formerly a clubhouse of the Coblenzer 68th Artillery Regiment. This building makes a beautiful library, with a very attractive garden in addition.

Morgenthau claims that the poor Poles cannot support unaided their 500,000 soldiers with which they are "protecting America from Russian Bolshevism."

September 19. Real soldier duty apparently is the least of my work these days. With railway commissions, the Rhineland Commission, conferences with the French on various subjects, and visitors, my time is well taken up.

Rucker returned from Paris with the report that Foch's chief of staff, General Weygand, thought that, inasmuch as our soldiers were in the neutral territory without authority, we did not have a sufficiently good case to demand the

delivery of the German soldiers. I feel confident that the German General will surrender them if I so ask, but I cannot take the chances of a refusal without knowing that my policy will be backed up by the High Military Command. I propose to go back at Weygand with a written argument and get his opinion in writing or else have my views confirmed.

September 20. I went with Harts to Cologne, where we received the usual flourishes. With General Hutchison we proceeded to his house, where Lady H. had a few guests invited to meet us at luncheon. General H. informed me that they were "very busy with the French"; that the British were going to hold Cologne, Bonn, and Düren; and that their force would be considerably larger than anticipated a few weeks ago. The change of policy as to diminishing their forces is certainly not due to a change in the conduct of the Germans nor to the attitude of the Germans toward the treaty.

September 21. Harts started this morning for St.-Mihiel to represent me at the laying of the foundation stone for a monument commemorating the cutting off of that salient. This morning I rode with the cavalry officers over their new course, over some very trappy obstacles. For some reason the English-American papers do not arrive on Sunday, the very day on which they are most appreciated.

My argument to Marshal Foch with respect to the demand for the German soldiers went forward this afternoon.

September 24. Marshal and Madame Joffre, with General Mangin and various others, arrived on the S.S. *Bismarck* nearly an hour late. They had come as far as Bingen by rail and boarded this boat there. Joffre was looking better than when I last saw him in Paris, nearly two years ago. He and his party of ten lunched with me. Then I went with him to the tombs of Marceau and Hoche and saw him on his special car at Weissenthurm, while General Mangin with his sister and her husband returned to Mainz. They invited me there for the opera this evening and I accepted.

September 25. The mayor of St.-Mihiel sent me a bronze

plaque from the city by Harts, in commemoration of the laying of the cornerstone for the American monument there. President Poincaré participated in the ceremony. To-day we had General Payot of Marshal Foch's staff and Colonel Russell for luncheon. My new aide-de-camp, Lieutenant McHenry, was here for his first meal. He is a fine specimen of manhood, a graduate of Yale, and a member of the crew of 1912.

September 26. I had the motor transport chief and the head of the signal battalion on the carpet this morning for failure to have certain measures carried out as prescribed, after which I gave the judge-advocate full instructions concerning my policy with respect to prisoners throughout this area, wherein the almost total abolition of guardhouses is involved.

Colonel Kruttschnitt has been delegated by the Liquidation Commission to act as the sales agent here in place of Mr. Adams, recently gone to the United States. He brought a letter from Judge Parker in Paris relative to a tentative sale of all excess of trucks and automobiles. In the auctions that are taking place now, the animals are bringing an average of about 5000 marks each, say $233.

September 27. To-day completed the sale of our entire surplus of horses and mules, 10,000 in number, at an average of 4800 marks each, for which a certified check of six million marks has been received. The purchasers are Bavarians. That makes the average rate of these, at the greatly varying exchange of these days, approximately $215 each.

Extracts from the German White Book are now appearing and set forth in unequivocal terms the necessity for Germany making peace: — the failure of her allies, the shortage of her reserves, and above all, the ever-increasing number of arriving Americans.

September 28. In spite of the rain, the steeplechase was run on the high ground to the east of Ehrenbreitstein. Terry Allen finished first; Colonel Melville, a Britisher, second; and Harry on my polo pony, Express, third.

Apparently the Germans and our soldiers are much pleased that I should have revoked the orders yesterday which heretofore have prevented fraternization. We are the last of the occupying forces to do this.

September 29. This is horse-show day. General and Lady Robertson, with their two daughters and aide, as well as the Noyes, lunched here.

September 30. The Assistant Military Attaché at The Hague, Lieutenant-Colonel Degen, has come from Berlin carrying letters. His reports concerning conditions in Germany and the intentions of certain elements there toward the Allies, if credible, would be very alarming, indeed. I have confidence that the remaining discipline and the good common sense of the Germans will bring them back to their industries.

October 1. I have decided to investigate in unoccupied Germany the reports that a strong military reactionary movement, having for its object the overthrow of the present Government and the defeat of the Allies, is growing there. I am not only reading but studying Ludendorff's book; it will be a great contribution to the history of the World War.

October 2. Mr. Cutler, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, came to see me at my request, as I wanted to talk over with him the importance of American entrance into the struggle for German trade now that France and England are so seriously engaged in.

I wrote M. Tirard asking him to cease moving furniture from one building to another in this city without consulting my billeting officer, and likewise to have the kindness to give me a list of the articles so moved. He was informed that he could get what he desired, but that a record should be made, and I am responsible.

October 3. M. Tirard came to see me, chiefly, I think, to let me know that he needed a hotel for French tradespeople. He intimated that we had the Coblenzerhof and the British the Riesenfürstenhof. Naturally he was informed that our hotel was for officers, of whom I have

several hundred here, but that I did not contemplate requisitioning buildings except for official uses.

In accordance with the request made by General Robertson, I received to-day the Maharajah of Capurtala with his secretary and a British officer, and had them for lunch. It was a question as to what honors should be shown this Indian prince, especially as I desired not to exceed those that might be given by the British authorities, but I had a guard of honor meet him on the Rhein Anlagen at the entrance to my house. From here a French officer escorted him to Wiesbaden via Ehrenbreitstein and Ems. Harts went as far as Ehrenbreitstein with him.

Yesterday the French Chamber voted to ratify the treaty, 372 to 53. The bitter fight over the treaty goes on at home, though there is a statement in to-day's *Bulletin* that the final vote will be taken October 22d.

We have now sold all our surplus property to the amount of about $75,000,000, and it is being delivered. This will be a slow process, owing to car shortage. Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, and Bavarians are the chief purchasers.

October 4. Admiral Grayson pronounces the President a very sick man. My senior surgeon, Bruns, who, with Colonel Kerr of the Medical Corps, lunched with me to-day, says the President has nephritis and carries a very high blood pressure, and his recovery will be very slow.

CHAPTER III

AUTUMN DAYS ON THE RHINE

Distinguished visitors — General Degoutte assumes command of the French Army on the Rhine — Deportation of profiteers — Tirard's luncheon — German coal shortage — Our vaults are flooded with marks — Excessive greed and vanity — Limited drinking hours — Fighting Bolshevism — Thanksgiving dinner — Sending Christmas parcels — Foch is worried.

October 5, 1919. All clocks have been set back an hour to-day, bringing us to winter time.

The Polk party arrived at 4.30 and were given military honors on the Clemens Platz. Afterwards we went up to Ehrenbreitstein where the machine-gun contest was being carried out; then returned to our respective billets. Mr. Polk, his wife and two children and the governess are at the von Groening house; the others, General Vanderbilt, Mr. Crane, Mr. Leland Harrison, and Major Gleason, at the Coblenzerhof. All the adults, plus the Noyes couple and M. Tirard, dined here. Mr. Polk gave me much valuable information concerning our relations with France and the final deals we have been making with respect to our military supplies that are to be sold them. He says the Silesian forces will come here. He thinks there seems to be more working on the part of the Germans than on the part of the French. He finds the British very frank in their dealings, and says they are not anxious to have a French general sent in command of the Silesian brigade, because they say their soldiers as well as their officers seriously object. Following up my efforts to have American trade interests looked after at least on a parity with those of other interested countries, I have had much conversation with Mr. Polk. One result of his visit will be the establishment of a consular agency here and another will probably be the installation of a branch of the American Express Company which will serve as a banking institution for us. Cornelius Vanderbilt, who is president of this institution,

approves the policy, with the understanding that it will be for the convenience of the American Forces on the Rhine and not for the purpose of making money.

October 8. The decree of the King of Italy technically completes ratification of the Versailles document. However, our position remains unchanged so long as our Senate has not ratified. We are still at war with Germany, but living through an Armistice. Our war partners are at peace with that state.

The President's condition does not seem to be satisfactory, and it is causing much uneasiness in the world, especially in England.

My French liaison officer informs me that yesterday the Eighth and Tenth Armies were consolidated as the Army of the Rhine under General Fayolle, and that General Mangin will be sent elsewhere. I have become very fond of him and regret his departure, but I suspect his too advanced policy toward the Rhine Republic has cost him his place.

October 9. It develops that General Degoutte will command the French Rhine Army and that General Fayolle will be the head of a mission in Germany, charged with disarmament. I wrote General Mangin, expressing regret over his departure.

October 10. From ten to twelve, I made an inspection on horseback of the entire American Forces in Germany on the airdrome or polo grounds, with all the principal staff officers present. Our transportation was in fine condition, but it leaves the impression of being excessive, as is usual, for the number of troops concerned. The appearance of the infantry was better than I had anticipated, though the march-by was not satisfactory. The artillery was not what it must be. For the most part the officers were well-set-up and looked well.

October 12. Dr. J. Brown Scott, his wife, Mr. Parmlee Herrick, and his son arrived last night and lunched here to-day. Dr. Scott has been one of our international law experts throughout the peace proceedings at Paris, and has

come up at the request of Mr. Polk to see me. I had a long session with him this morning, during which we discussed the possible phases of the treaty ratification by England, France, and Italy, before the United States had done so, and what would be the status of our representation on the Rhineland Commission under such circumstances; would the Rhineland High Commission come into effect, and what would be the status of our member? He seemed to think that he would have no rights on the High Commission, but that if I recommended — why my recommendation should be considered, I know not — he would be authorized to sit and might possibly be given a vote.

Ambassador Max Uhler and General Chichester were also guests for luncheon. The former was British representative in Turkey and the latter, Quartermaster-General of the British Forces on the Rhine.

October 13. I took a short ride this afternoon and have since been reading Vanderlip's "What Happened to Europe," sent to me by Hoytie. This little book shows Vanderlip to be an exceptionally clever individual in diagnosing the commercial and financial evils now weighing so heavily on Europe. Under instructions from the War Department, I am engaged in bringing down the total of officers to be maintained here to 400.

October 14. Possibly the most acute matters now troubling the safety of the world are Fiume, still held by d'Annunzio, and the Baltic region from which the Supreme Council has not yet been able to oust von der Goltz. We get startling rumors from time to time as to what is going to take place in Germany in her effort to return to the monarchical past and to drive out the holding forces.

News was received to-day that General Degoutte, who is to command the French Army of the Rhine, will be the supreme Allied military chief.

My wife arrived this afternoon from America, looking very well indeed. She and her party made three days of the journey from Paris here, visiting a good portion of the fighting front of the 90th Division.

October 16. With Captain Hendricks and McHenry, I went to Mainz this morning and lunched with General Fayolle, at present commanding the French Army on the Rhine. I arrived a little after noon and found a guard of honor of the blackest colonials, Senegalese, outside of the palace enclosure, and inside two companies of the 166th Infantry. As usual the American and French national airs were played and both Generals Fayolle and Degoutte met me. General Fayolle had not heard that he was to head the Military Allied Disarmament Commission in Germany, nor General Degoutte that he was to have command of all the Allied forces. Lunch was served immediately in the same dining-room where I had recently dined with General Mangin. The reception was very cordial, and it was so arranged that it constituted also my official call on General Degoutte, who succeeds General Fayolle in a few days when the treaty is technically ratified.

The conversation covered a wide range of international matters as well as local conditions. General Fayolle thinks France and the United States the only honest, frank nations. General Degoutte was much worried about the coal conditions in the French area. The Germans think that coal for the civil population should come from the Saar Basin, while he thinks it should come from the Ruhr Basin. He feels that Germany would give coal to the British and American zones and withhold it from the French zone in order to foment trouble with them. He is as keen against Prussia, not Germany, as Mangin was keen for a Rhine Republic. I suspect, however, that he is a man of much poise.

October 17. We left the house at 7.45 and mounted horses near Bendorf, at Sayn, at 8.15 for a staff ride in the front of this bridgehead. We arrived at Montabaur about noon, for luncheon. We took opportunity during the ride to study well our three lines of defense.

October 18. The Commissioners are becoming sufficiently militaristic to want soldiers at their houses and offices. The Belgian proposes to have two deputy com-

missioners, each with the rank of brigadier-general. This does not mean that they will be military officers, but that is the rank he thinks they should have in order that they may have a proper rating in relation to military officials throughout the occupied territory on all occasions. As a matter of fact, the Arrangement, which is the Magna Charta of the High Commission, makes no mention whatever of deputy commissioners.

October 23. There is a decided improvement in the bearing of the men of this command.

General Bourne of the Salvation Army came in to get material for an article which he hopes to have appear in the *War Cry*.

It is a distinct disappointment to the Allies that we are not to have any representation on any of the commissions until the treaty is ratified by us.

A letter from General Bliss encloses a telegram from the War Department directing him to get in touch with me in reference to six battalions of troops due to arrive at Brest on the 28th of October. Our commissioners promised eight battalions for plebiscite duty, including these six now arriving, one naval battalion at Brest and one of my Coblenz battalions. We are supposed to send one each to Schleswig, Danzig, Memel, and Teschen, and four to Silesia. The plebiscite must take place before January 1st in Teschen; therefore I imagine we will probably not participate in that, and if we do, it will last but a short time.

October 24. The shortage of coal and food and the excessive prices of nearly everything are keeping this part of the world very perturbed.

I am daily expecting a telegram from the War Department making demotions in my officers. Under the Department protocol demotions must be made all the way down to regular grade; then promotions may follow.

This afternoon I conducted the heads of all staff sections over the security line east of Ehrenbreitstein which, in a crisis, my troops must hold at all hazards.

October 26. To-day a vice-consul in charge of passports

at Paris reported here with his *secretary*. This combination caps the climax of officers and officials who are making ceremonious visits to this bridgehead with their wives and sometimes their children.

A communication from General Degoutte's headquarters asks me to give French officers in this zone the same billeting privileges they have in the French zone, but, if our officers have any additional advantages, to accord them also. I am sure General Degoutte never saw that communication, which I answered by saying it would give me much pleasure to extend to the French officers on duty in this zone the same privileges granted to American officers.

October 27. A cable from Washington says my delay in demoting and returning temporary officers is embarrassing the War Department. There has been a misunderstanding relative to this action, which we had thought here was to be taken in Washington.

The President's uncompromising attitude has greatly increased the hostility of the League opponents. It is remarkable that a man who creates as much antagonism and friction as he does should have accomplished so much, and it is marvelous that the attitude of one individual should be having such a tremendous influence on the welfare of the world.

Mr. Hyde, with his traveling companion, M. Lecoury, has returned from Berlin, and lunched here to-day. He showed me a certified interview with Noske, who said that, unless Germany has the support of its recent enemies, it will be left to the fate of Russia; and also that the Allies require a stable Germany for their future restoration.

I have decided to make a collection of profiteers (*Schiebers*) to the number of about twenty and deport them from this area. The Germans seem not to want to undertake this matter, although they are very anxious to be rid of them and glad to have me ship them out.

October 29. Tirard gave a luncheon to-day for General Degoutte, at which all Tirard's civilian officials were

present, as well as Noyes, Harts, and myself. The chief subject of conversation was the coal shortage and the best way of meeting it. General Degoutte says the marked shortage of coal in France is sure to produce disorders there this winter. The Germans are still hoping to receive some coal from the Saar Basin, but none seems imminent. There is a large quantity of coal piled up in Silesia and in the Ruhr Basin, but the shortage of locomotives makes its distribution impossible. A very considerable percentage of both German and French locomotives are so worn or in such a poor state of repair as to make them useless. The repair problem is now most important. It is claimed that German labor for that purpose is no longer effective and that the available materials for such work are of inferior quality.

October 30. J. had a Red Cross meeting at our house this afternoon. This is the first time since the beginning of the war that I have consented to have any money taken from my soldiers, but the good work of the Red Cross is so far-reaching that I consented to a drive here for membership that would take a dollar per head from this command.

I cabled Washington in an endeavor to secure adequate rank for my officers in the shake-up, or rather the shake-down, that is imminent.

The second German concert took place in the Fest Halle to-night. These excellent concerts show not only the capacity of the Germans for making fine music but the large audiences show their love for it.

October 31. The German answer to the Supreme Council concerning assistance in a blockade of the Bolsheviks is a clever rejoinder, and leaves the advantage of position against the Council.

November 1. Our Rhineland Commissioner is now in a great quandary as to how he may carry on, if at all, should the deposits of ratification of three Great Powers be made in a few days, and peace proclaimed by November 11th, the first Armistice anniversary. Unless some *modus vivendi* be arranged, part of the occupied territory, the

American, will remain under military control. That should not be permitted if it can possibly be avoided.

November 4. After a little shopping this morning, we started for Coblenz. Cologne is a highly commercialized city, with a population of over 500,000, and gives an impression of great solidity and importance. Much of the activity of the Ruhr Basin is reflected there, as well as the great commercial and industrial life of the Rhine Valley.

I had General Sage, his chief of staff, Colonel Allen Greer, his G–3, Lieutenant-Colonel Santschi, and his aide, Captain Hammond, for luncheon. These officers bring from home the same story of unrest and high cost of living; they also tell of the divergence of views relative to army legislation.

November 5. Wrote Mr. Fish a long letter which sounded a tone wholly different from his utterances on the treaty and League of Nations, and in marked contrast to the whole tenor of *Harvey's Weekly*, which he sends me. Went over with Sage the whole subject of the training of the Silesian brigade and its relation to these headquarters; he apparently thinks that the stop of his brigade here is momentary and that it is doubtful whether he falls under my command in the usual sense of the word.

I have directed that all officers in the American zone begin the study of German; that they be organized into classes which shall alternate with the riding classes. Noyes came to confer about the excessive zeal of certain M.P.'s, and also to ascertain whether I would undertake to carry out in this area what the Rhineland Commission might decide in respect to the others. This, of course, is on the assumption that the treaty be ratified before any action is taken by the United States. I informed him that the ordinances of the High Commission would be published in this zone whenever practicable, for the guidance of all concerned.

November 6. This morning made a detailed inspection of G–4 activities at headquarters, as I did yesterday of

G–2 activities. Peek brought in plans furnished by the Burgomaster for the construction of about ten separate houses on Carnival Island, and also for extensive apartments for officers and non-commissioned officers, in the heart of the city. All this appeared very satisfactory, but I directed Peek to make no definite promises relative to occupancy, and to inform the Burgomaster that our action in liberating houses and buildings now held must be dependent upon conditions existing when the new constructions are finished.

In accordance with the terms agreed upon with Mr. Polk when he was here, Consul Wood arrived this afternoon to take up his duties. Presumably the other two will be here soon. They will constitute for a while a sort of consular board to study the conditions in Germany and report upon the best method of American consular representation during this Armistice period.

Owing to the sales of surplus property here, a very large sum of paper marks is accumulating. It totals already 222 millions, and is literally filling our quartermaster vaults in this building.

November 7. This morning I made a detailed inspection of all the activities of G–1 in the headquarters building. When Consul Wood came around, I gave him the benefit of the conference with Mr. Polk, and also expressed to him what seemed to me of importance to us at this stage, in order that we may not be left too far behind other countries in resuming our trade with Germany. The other two consuls, Sauer of Copenhagen and Stewart of Berne, are to come here shortly.

November 8. The second of the consuls, Mr. Stewart, arrived to-day, and both he and Consul Wood, as well as Colonel Kimball, lunched here.

November 9. The other Commissioners are to have military guards of honor to put them on a footing with the President of the Commission. That is, of course, unnecessary, but quite in accordance with the general trend of notions in Europe at the present time. Without indulging

in invective, it might truly be said that excessive greed, selfishness, and vanity are dominating notes at present.

November 10. M. Tirard wants four officers from each army as a security committee for the armies of occupation. Mr. Noyes strongly opposes this, as he thinks such a committee would leave the occupied territory largely under military control. Before expressing an opinion, I have asked for details of the proposal. The creed of the Rhineland Agreement may be summed up in the phrase, "the maintenance, safety, and requirements of the Allied and Associated Forces," and it would therefore seem that, if such a committee were organized, it would be largely in the nature of transferring civil authority to military authority.

November 11. Snow and rain curtailed the inspection and review of all the troops on the aeroplane field this morning. These monthly inspections, turned out as the forces must be, are of great importance in maintaining a suitable state of readiness.

I had for luncheon four of the senior officers of the Silesian brigade, that I might inculcate in them ideas concerning training and the essentials for that brigade.

This is the first anniversary of the Armistice, a truly historic day. Well do I remember one year ago when, just ready to jump off for a renewed attack, receiving with disgust instructions that stopped it.

November 13. General Degoutte arrived at my headquarters at noon and was received by a cavalry detachment. I conducted him to the Clemens Platz where a battalion rendered him honors and was reviewed by him. Then followed a stag luncheon at my house of fourteen covers, including General Degoutte and the French, American, and British members of the Commission. I spoke with the General concerning the advisability of having Trèves as headquarters of the High Allied Command, a subject in which he was deeply interested, both sentimentally and historically. He spoke with some feeling of the Roman command of the Rhineland from that center and referred to history repeating itself. He is not yet certain whether

he will be named supreme chief, nor has he heard any recent news concerning the proposed board or council of Allied generals headed by Foch, for a Rhine military control. He expressed a special desire that we see each other often and that our personal relations be cordial.

November 14. European countries seem to realize that our ratification may be considerably delayed, to their great disgust, and are in consequence working out a policy that shall be independent of the United States.

The court-martial cases continue to be far too numerous, and, as usual, many of them come from drinking. The new order I am having prepared should largely remedy the drinking curse, as it will limit the drinking hours to between 12 and 1 and 6 and 9 P.M. There are now relatively about ten cases to one here as compared with those in the 90th Division and in the three corps I commanded.

November 15. After a short period of work at headquarters, I started with Jeannette and McHenry for Cologne, where we lunched with the Robertsons. There was so much snow that they thought we should not arrive on time, if at all. Besides Sir William and Lady Robertson and daughter, the Hutchisons, the Biddles, and the personal staff were present. It seems that the War Office is finding trouble in securing a place for Sir William commensurate with his rank of full general, and he may, after all, be left here with a force about the size of mine.

November 16. Owing to the rather heavy snow on the ground, Melville and I caught five hares with the hounds, within an hour, along the roadside a few miles north of here.

The League of Nations has been declared to be a superstate; otherwise it would not be effective nor worth while. If that were true, then the United States would bear about the same relation to it that any State in our Union bears to the central Government. That system of reasoning has caused many persons to consider whether or not this much-talked-of League of Nations, which should be most useful to the welfare of the world, might not impinge on

the sovereignty of the respective states. The mark has dropped to two and a half cents and the franc to ten cents, a bad omen for the future.

November 17. The Republicans in the Senate are now in the saddle, and I presume practically all their reservations must be accepted by the President.

The British and French have decided finally to withdraw all future support from the Russians — from Koltchak, Denekin, and Judenitch. It is reported that the Soviet Government has assured France that all her debts will be paid. The list of generals who are to continue until July 1, 1920, was received to-day and I am much pleased that Harts is on the list.

The French elections went rather strongly against the Socialists and are in general favorable to Clemenceau; that means a big advantage for France and possibly for the entire world, as it largely eliminates disorders and possibly Socialistic troubles in that state.

November 19. The heavy snow has given way to rain and the country has become sloppy.

The treaty ratification, from press reports, seems very dubious to-day; still there is hope of a compromise between the two parties. The French press expresses much gloom over the situation, while the British press is still hopeful of favorable action by the United States. The former sees in our conduct a struggle against our participation in world affairs, a strong effort to continue our isolation and independence of Europe. In my opinion our present attitude would have comported well with the nineteenth century, but is not in conformity with this radio-electric age.

November 21. If Congress has adjourned *sine die* as reported, the European situation will be more complicated as a result.

Consul Sempich stopped here to-day *en route* for Berlin, with instructions from Frank Polk to consult with me. He, with Colonel Linton representing General Nollet in Berlin, dined with us to-night. As conditions improve in

Germany, so should the United States take steps commensurate with those of France and England, as well as with her own interests, to safeguard future trade with that country.

November 22. General Wood's niece, Frau Hasenpflug, came this morning. Her father is a brother to Mrs. Wood and she married an officer in the German Army a few years before the war broke out. She is now divorced from him, and is again securing American citizenship. She is traveling for New York with her two children. It is astonishing how completely her German viewpoint differs from that of the average person of the United States. She tells of a sorrowful life due to hunger that she and her children have been passing through since the outbreak of the war, and this, she says, has been the normal one with the average army officer's family. It is truly interesting to talk with Frau Hasenpflug about her views concerning the Kaiser, origin of the war, and the feelings toward America. I have suggested to her that her viewpoint would not be very popular in the United States.

General and Mrs. Connor, now here as my guests, are making a hurried trip to the Rhine before the American forces in France are entirely sent home. We have had the Van Schaicks, the Sladens, and the Mahappys for dinner. The latter's great-uncle Walson was a M.F.H. of an Irish pack from '51 to '96, a period of forty-five years.

Judge Gwynn and Colonel Bower, Treasury representative and Liquidating Commissioner, are here. Judge Gwynn says the Department will take no action toward making any bank a government depository in Coblenz until the treaty is ratified by the Senate, and that in the mean time we must continue to keep and guard more than 300,000,000 paper marks in the vaults in my headquarters building.

From an article in the *Amaroc News*, it seems that our Commissioner, Mr. Noyes, has been talking in Paris, and that some of his remarks are not soothing to French pride or to our good relations with that state.

November 24. At a conference this morning with the three consuls, one of whom, Sauer, had to go from Copenhagen to London in order to reach the Rhine, I gave them the benefit of the views entertained by Mr. Polk and myself as to their duties in the Rhineland and in Germany, in connection with prospective American trade.

Colonel Young has been put in charge of vocational training, and it is my intention to develop this phase of our army activities to the limit, with the thought that all officers be impressed with the importance of making better citizens out of all of our men. If we can inculcate in them such thoughts and aspirations as will awaken an ambition to make good citizens of themselves when they are finally discharged, we shall run no danger of having Bolshevism develop through their agencies.

Gabriel d' Annunzio's insistence on remaining at Fiume and his acts there, at variance with the terms of the Versailles Treaty, are about to bring on war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia. The abrupt departure of the German delegates from Paris has left the Allied Commissioners with a blank stare on their faces. It is not exactly known what this move means.

Consul Sauer and his Venezuelan wife, who speaks only Spanish, came for luncheon to-day. Mr. Ashcraft, a former important secretary of the Y.M.C.A., is here to purchase a large supply of potash from Germany for use in Tennessee.

November 26. As to our ratification, I cannot believe that Lodge and company will sacrifice patriotism and world welfare, beyond a certain limit, to partisanship. Therefore, I anticipate with confidence a compromise within a few weeks.

Two leading officials of the American Express Company, Small and Thomas, came in this morning to talk over arrangements for opening a banking establishment here within the next fortnight. They are working in close coöperation with the Dresdener Bank, which has a branch here.

November 27. As this is Thanksgiving Day, we went to service at the Palace chapel, utilizing the Kaiser's box. The large American flags and the character of the service added much to this unusual celebration on the Rhine. The music was remarkably good, and Chaplain Easterbrook, who is the senior chaplain of this command, is entitled to much credit for the beautiful programme he prepared.

We had the Bagbys and Bodekers for luncheon, to help eat the five mallard ducks recently killed by them and donated to us. Our Thanksgiving dinner guests included an eccentric welfare worker, Dr. Risner, Mrs. Ward of the Associated Press, and Miss Barksdale, also a welfare worker.

Although there are ten persons eating permanently in my kitchen, my major-domo wants to increase his "working force." That corresponds so fully with my experience since the beginning of the war, with respect to truly important work, that I had no hesitation in following my normal practice and turning it down. It too often happens that an officer, in getting a detail, requires an assistant, who in turn wants some one to help him.

November 28. The franc is now about ten and one third cents and the mark a little over two cents. The Italian chief of state is experiencing great difficulties these days, the lira being even relatively lower than the franc. I had continually thought that the bottom exchange had been reached, but that has been proven grievously wrong. If the United States were to ratify, and such assistance were given by it to Europe as would be practicable, a great change would come quickly. I am beginning to suspect that the very low value of the franc and its continual depreciation is due to some internal conditions in spite of the defeat of the Socialists at the recent elections.

The strain on the present German Government is becoming very great by reason of a demand of the Allies for the delivery for trial of German subjects guilty of atrocities during the war, and replacing the 400,000 tons of shipping destroyed at Scapa Flow. That equals the total tonnage now owned by Germany.

November 30. It is astonishing to learn the number of wives and sisters-in-law who want to come over to Germany; and also the number of officers and soldiers who want to marry.

December 3. It is announced in the morning papers that our Peace Commissioners will not leave Paris as intended on December 5th, for which I am truly glad.

Mr. Noyes has received a vigorous protest from M. Tirard because the Oberpräsident, at the request of Noyes, through my Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, asked for information relative to coal and other supplies in Birkenfeld. This little principality formerly belonged to Oldenberg, but has declared itself absolved from that allegiance and now belongs to the Rhine Province. The tone of this protest was not very tactful or diplomatic. He thinks the military authorities, who are jealous of their rights, have been exerting considerable pressure on M. Tirard, who in turn transfers it to him.

Our Christmas parcels intended for home have been made up with lists preparatory to the duty that must be paid, in accordance with special arrangements for paying at this end.

There are now six ministerial crises in Europe: in Spain, Italy, Roumania, Germany, Poland, and Jugo-Slavia. In the United States strikes are the order of the day. The stroke of the President rendered him unable to send his contemplated message to Congress bearing on the treaty. There is as yet no indication that prices are coming down, either at home or in Europe. Restrictions on sugar, fuel, and lights are made more drastic in Paris, showing that normal conditions are far from having been reached in France.

December 5. At an inspection and review, the 2d Brigade (Silesian) at Andernach made a better appearance than ever before. A part of the old Roman wall and a big observation tower constructed by those pioneers are still in good condition in this town. It was only a few miles this side of the town at Engers, where Cæsar built the bridge across the Rhine described in so much detail in his "Commentaries."

A telegram has just come from General Bliss in Paris. I must leave for Paris Sunday.

General Robertson has asked me to lunch to-morrow, and likewise, for the same date, the French Deputy Commissioner, Roussellier, has asked me to go pig-hunting near Simmern.

Mr. Hoole, who will be charged with the affairs of the American Express Company here, brought me a letter from the European director of the company. I am glad we are to have an American banking institution here, which I am sure will be a great convenience to all of us and, above all, it may render a great service in inducing considerable numbers of our men to deposit their money.

December 6. On arrival at Bonn this morning with Montgomery, we were met by Colonel Heath, in charge of educational and vocational training, and an English captain, who escorted us to Siegburg to the east of the Rhine. There in a very large German shell factory the British have established their mechanical and engineer vocational school, capable of instructing about three hundred students. They have, however, only seventy students, and have proposed that we send from one hundred to two hundred men there with the understanding that we share expenses with them.

From Siegburg we went to Cologne to inspect the commercial school established in the Cologne Realschule. Here, too, is a complete plant with instructors where the authorities generously propose to permit our instructors to investigate and study. This school is in some respects of a superior order and possibly would be above the heads of most of our men who would volunteer. At luncheon with General and Lady Robertson, they were as hospitable as ever, and he quite as droll as always. While not appearing at all as a petitioner, I told him we would gladly share the Siegburg school with him and that we are very appreciative of the generous proposition made by Colonel Heath. He said he was not sure that the French would authorize him to hold Siegburg after giving up the Bonn area, but

that he would look into the question and let me know definitely later.

To-night at the Officers' Club, I found to my surprise that port and other heavy wines are being sold there in addition to the light wines which are authorized. That was immediately stopped and I have told Peek to let the French representatives know about this, as I intend to inform Tirard concerning it. The French discriminate in the sale of liqueurs between ranks of the service, but it seems to me that such a policy should not be authorized in this zone.

December 8. We arrived in Paris this morning at six o'clock, and were met by an Embassy car and driven to the Crillon, where we had to wait more than an hour before getting even a cup of coffee. Owing to the difficulties of getting rooms, I decided to stop at 27 rue de la Pérouse with Colonel Mott, our Military Attaché. In a short session with General Bliss and Mr. White this morning, they gave me their views about a telegram just received from Washington forbidding any advance on our part into Germany without special authority from the War Department; about the backing down of the Allies in their demand for 400,000 tons of shipping as a penalty for the Scapa Flow incident; about England's insistence on having those floating docks; and about the Commission leaving now for home before the game is ended.

I then went over and had quite a lengthy interview with Marshal Foch, who praised individually and collectively our Commissioners; who deeply regretted our withdrawal; and said he was sure the Germans meant to refuse carrying out the Armistice terms, or rather the terms of the treaty. He felt persuaded that the proper military control should have prevented the present *impasse;* he asked many questions about conditions in my zone; said he had great confidence in Degoutte, and that he was sure we should get along well together. He was very interesting and very cordial, but it is clear he is greatly worried at our leaving.

After luncheon to-day I had a conference with Mr. Polk, who alone, General Bliss said, could give me instructions. It is evident from his statements that their going home is a result of the President's policy to make the Senate's actions appear, as he thinks, prejudicial to our interests and therefore possibly helpful in ratifying the treaty. It is a great misfortune that we should be thus forced to maintain a fight which demands, above all, concord amongst the Allied and Associated Powers. Mr. Polk thinks the Government will not give our Ambassador here a very free hand. He asked me to come in again at five o'clock when Mr. Noyes would also call.

In the mean time I saw Ambassador Wallace, Joseph Grew, Secretary-General to our Peace Delegation, and also Mr. Noyes. We were unable to see Mr. Polk until six o'clock, when we went over the situation of America's participation in the Rhineland Commission and the status of American troops on the Rhine after ratification by three big Powers. This should take place very soon because the Supreme Council with von Lersner has adjusted the tonnage question so that the protocol should be signed without much further delay. This secondary treaty, as it were, is attributed to England's greed and France's desire to place new impositions on Germany. Mr. Polk has evidently had some interesting discussions here with Lloyd George regarding the British Commissioners' views. He cabled Washington, setting forth that Mr. Noyes should act only in an advisory capacity on the Rhineland Commission and that I am making my control over the American zone conform as far as practicable to the ordinances of the Rhineland Commission which go into effect on the final ratification of the treaty. Noyes naturally is worried as to his position and above all as to funds for his staff. Of this last matter, the cablegram was quite full.

In conversation with Mr. Polk, one quickly gets the impression that he is an eminently fit person for the duties that have fallen upon him and likewise the conviction that his departure is premature. It seems to me that our

participation in European affairs appears in its darkest tones to-day. I cannot help feeling that our Senate should reach a compromise and that our allies would quickly accept almost any terms to keep us in the great game so important to the peace of the world. Germany has scored a great success due to the inaction of our Senate and to the greed of England. Marshal Foch's views as to the proper action on the part of the Allied forces are not in accord with those of Clemenceau.

December 9. Dr. James Brown Scott gave me his views at the Crillon with respect to the legal phases connected with our Rhine holdings, in case the treaty is ratified by the necessary number of Great Powers before we ratify. They are thoroughly in accord with what was proposed in Mr. Polk's Washington cable last night and seem to afford the only possible method for us to pursue.

From Colonel Logan I learn that we are going to take payment for our military expenses on the Rhine from the value of the German ships we seized during the war, as far as they will go. It is also now a question of establishing German customs posts for the western frontier of the occupied territory to prevent illegal entrance of materials, which Erzberger says have already reached seventeen millions of marks.

To the Ritz for tea with the Connors. There I saw Floyd Gibbons, who said he had trailed me from Mott's house to the Embassy, to the Crillon, to the Connors', and thence to the Ritz. I had about an hour's session with Mr. Wallace, who asked many questions and seemed anxious to have me get down to Paris frequently. We dined at the Continental and then went over to the railway station to see the Commissioners off for the United States. The principal celebrities to bid them Godspeed were Clemenceau and Foch.

December 10. To see Mr. Kent of the Bankers' Trust Company, regarding the establishment of a bank in Coblenz. He was trying to find me all yesterday, so he says, to have me lunch with him. He is working on a plan

under which American bankers may extend credit to foreign countries. His agent is now in Coblenz. I told him of the status of the American Express Company, which he believes cannot become a depository of the United States.

Guillemin gave a tea in my honor, which was attended by our Ambassadresses at Paris and Madrid, Countess Chambrun, Madame Dupuy, Count Boni de Castellane, and Mrs. Harjes, who still maintains her canteen at Mayence. Hyde called me up this morning to ask me to come back for dinner on the 16th when he expects to have Marshal Foch and Ambassador Wallace. He also asked me to stop with him when I returned to Paris. After dinner we boarded the train for Coblenz at the Gare de l'Est.

December 12. Instead of reaching our destination as usual, we did not arrive until six o'clock, and, as there were no arrangements made at the various halts for food, the trip was long and unsatisfactory. The heating of the car was sadly insufficient for comfort.

A letter from the Tauffliebs asks us to visit them about the 19th in Strasbourg. The General is busily engaged with his candidature for the Senate, in which his wife is a very important factor. Her activities are most noteworthy and it is quite probable that they will accomplish their purpose in landing him in the Senate.

December 13. Tirard seems much pleased with the plans for the reception for himself and the other Commissioners next Tuesday. He thinks it especially opportune to have such an event take place now when so much dissatisfaction is being expressed over the departure of America from the peace councils in Europe. It is reported that the French Government is sending enough fine furniture up from the Garde-Meubles at Paris for Tirard's house to make Louis XV green with envy.

December 14. Complaint has been received of the coursing over the fields about here, and I am not surprised. Cognizance will be taken of this grievance and no more coursing will be indulged in. This excellent sport is not only injurious to the crops even at this season of the year,

but it develops that the hare-shooting privilege on the ground we have been coursing over has been duly leased to certain individuals.

Colonel Mescherinoff gave us much information regarding Russia. He is still aide to the King of Montenegro, who is holding on to his mountain state by the thinnest cord. England and France have ceased to furnish their quota of his original allowance of 400,000 francs per month, afterwards reduced to 200,000 francs, and now he must depend upon the third partner, Italy.

In regard to technical training, I have outlined a policy with the idea of beginning chiefly with the unit schools in the several barracks or compounds and of permitting them to evolve with the understanding that the more advanced pupils will be provided with a central school with as many advantages as we can furnish in the way of technical, mechanical, and commercial training. In addition to these, we shall have an agricultural course which will be taught on a farm to be requisitioned for that purpose somewhere near this city.

CHAPTER IV

FÊTES AND FLOODS

A reception of celebrities — Football championship — Stalled in a drenching rain — A visit to General Taufflieb — Christmas on the Rhine — The floods increase — Ratification of the treaty is urged — A bizarre opera — Exploiting Russia — The treaty is ratified; the United States does not participate — An administrative dilemma — Efforts at conciliation — Memoirs of von Tirpitz — State Department confirms my acts — Army officers as business men — The Dutch refuse to give up the ex-Kaiser — Troops are untidy — Frau von Bülow — A luxurious base hospital — French boxers throw up the sponge — A vote of confidence — Speculation among soldiers — Fighting typhus in Poland — Secretary Lansing resigns — Soldiers are forbidden to marry German women — European press sides with Lansing — French tax-dodgers — Washington's Birthday dinner — Praise for British troops — Brusqueness of the British.

December 16, 1919. The French made to-day's reception of the Rhineland Commission an important social event, intending to show solidarity amongst the Allies and to increase the importance of the Commission. General Degoutte and nearly all the corps and division commanders, including Vandenberger, Caron, d'Anselme, Michel, and four other French generals, as well as Lieutenant-General Baltia and other generals of the Belgian forces, were here. The English forces were represented by General and Lady Hutchison, who are stopping in the house. I gave a dinner at the Club for those who saw fit to remain. The house was very beautifully decorated by German professionals and the food was furnished by the Coblenzerhof. Of this there seemed to have been enough for four receptions before the affair began, but, when all had departed, there was not even a piece of bread left. There were probably between five hundred and six hundred present. In spite of the ample warning and the promise of M. Tirard that he would have all the Commissioners present, M. Rolin-Jaequemyns was absent. The Belgian section seems to have rubbed my billeting officers and G–1 the wrong way from the beginning.

December 21. Harry and I delayed our departure until

the Robertsons started back to Cologne about ten, then left for Strasbourg by motor. About two kilometres north of a small village, Werth-am-Rhein, the car stopped, as we supposed from gasoline shortage. After trying for two hours both *bidons* of petrol that were carried in the car, and which seemed to contain much water, we gave up hope of continuing in that car. By this time it was dark, and we started on foot for the nearest village, where two French negro soldiers, who were unable to speak any language that we knew, conducted us to the station. There we endeavored by phone and telegraph to get aid from Strasbourg, seventy kilometres south of us. Here we lost two more hours without avail. Just as we had hired a wagon to fetch our valises, that we might pass the night in this village, our chauffeur arrived with the car, but with only seven gallons of gas to cover seventy kilometres of slippery road in a severe rain-storm and utter darkness. However, we started, and at Lauterburg were able to get twenty-five litres of gas. From that time on it was a continuous effort to find the road.

We finally arrived at General Taufflieb's residence, 4 Koch Quay, at 10.30, to find a large gathering of Strasbourg dignitaries who had just finished dining. My telegram, marked "*Bezahlt–dringend*," had not arrived. Madame la Générale was specially cordial, and as usual was conducting affairs. We were presented and, after a short time, dinner was served to us, at the end of which champagne was brought in for all. It now appears that the election of General Taufflieb to the Senate is assured, for which I am informed he is largely indebted to his American wife.

December 22. General Taufflieb took Harry and myself out sight-seeing this morning in his car. Born here, naturally he proved a good guide. First we went to pay our respects to General Humbert, Governor-General of Alsace. It was he, in command of a French army, who welcomed us American generals at Noyon in January, 1918, and then passed me on to General Taufflieb, commanding a corps

at Ugny-le-Gay, who in turn passed me over to General le Breton, commanding a division at Sastris. General Humbert said that the League of Nations was highly desirable for the French at this stage because its adoption on the request of America had caused the French Government to give up the idea of having the Rhine made its frontier. Evidently that thought has remained in the minds of some Frenchmen of influence.

After leaving General Humbert's superb headquarters, recently occupied by General Gouraud, we went to the beautiful park, the Orangerie; thence to the cathedral. Here we dismissed the car and went on foot through various interesting parts of the city including "Der kleine Frankreich." The Kaiserplatz is one of the most beautiful places of the kind that I know in any city, even though much larger than this one of 160,000 population. Most of the handsome buildings in this Platz have been constructed by the Germans since 1871. The Alsatian language is a corrupt German with very few French words, while the Lorraine patois is a French language with very few German words. We lunched at La Cygne, a new fine French restaurant recently opened in an imposing building not far from where we now are and on the quay. After this we went with General —— to visit the Kehl bridgehead, crossing the various arms and canals of the Rhine and the Ill. On the Baden end of the Rhine bridge has been constructed a huge rooster, "Le coq gaulois," in memory of the victory. Of course, its appearance there will everlastingly vex the Badeners who must cross this bridge. We went out about twelve kilometres, almost to the Black Forest, to the limits of the Kehl bridgehead. General —— had command of two American negro regiments during the war, and he spoke very highly of their fighting qualities after he had caused all the black officers to be replaced by white ones. But he stated that the results attained by the 92d Division, which had black officers in the lower grades, were most unsatisfactory. After tea General Taufflieb and I left to visit a collection of arms and uni-

forms of a Strasbourg gentleman. Most of this collection consists of French objects, but it was stated that he was compelled to add certain German ones, lest all be confiscated by the German authorities. It is evident that history is clearly and definitely repeating itself in Alsace. Possibly within fifty years there may again be a Germanizing process under way.

December 24. The American Express Company, which is now ready for business, has agreed to pay us three and a half per cent on our *Amaroc News* fund of about one million marks; for draft accounts it will pay two per cent. The Secretary of War sent us a fine cable greeting on the season, which I at once published and sent out.

There have been a number of additional Christmas presents to purchase and various parties to attend, one at the American Library Association building, one at the Melvilles', and one at Ehrenbreitstein. Our hall is filling up with baskets of flowers from various ones. Delightful letters have been received from the heads of welfare workers. Since dinner we have been decorating our little Christmas tree; in fact, the house presents a holiday appearance in a striking degree. After dinner, some of the welfare workers, led by Miss Dahlgren, serenaded us.

December 25. This has been a very satisfactory Christmas, with the usual exchange of presents. I have found that, due to the holidays, an insufficient personnel had remained at headquarters to permit the minimum of work. That will probably not happen again.

December 26. At a Christmas tree in Andernach prepared by the American troops, there were 1600 children present, under eight years of age, and yet old enough to march to the tree. In a French town of that size, the number would not have been half that. In Germany tax legislation considers the number of children in fixing the rate on the head of the family.

Both the Rhine and the Mosel are dangerously high and many of the 10,000 trucks recently sold to the English syndicate, now parked in Coblenz-Lützel near the bridge,

are under water. The Rhine is on the Rhein Anlagen at the foot of my sentry boxes and is still rising.

The Germans are celebrating Christmas as they always do, perhaps on a more general scale than any other country.

A characteristic communication came from Roussellier, in which he wants all restrictions on liquor traffic in the occupied territory removed, and likewise the fines which have already been imposed in this zone for violation of our ordinances. These restrictions were primarily imposed by Marshal Foch, but it develops that the French business interests are seriously prejudiced thereby, while the welfare of the Germans and the troops is lost sight of. Even the German officials approved my policy of limiting the sale or gift of alcoholic drinks to persons in this zone to light wines and beers.

December 27. It is evident that the Germans as well as the Allies are maneuvering and delaying final ratification with the hope that we will take definite action.

Colonel Gilbert, who carried a message to General Pershing that I counted upon his having me go into Mexico, brings back word that Pershing did not know that he would have anything to do with the expedition, and that he was "not sure General Allen ought to be relieved, as he gets along well with everybody, is diplomatic, and has good judgment."

The rivers have been rising all day at the rate of three quarters inch per hour, and the losses of our stores, it is feared, are going to be considerable. It is reported that it is the highest water since 1882. My house can be approached at the front only by boats. By mistake this has been a holiday, though I had intended that all Christmas week should not be given up wholly to recreation by the personnel of this command. Rode down to Carnival Island to inspect the city pumping plant and wells, all of which are supervised by us and are in great danger of being flooded.

December 28. The flood remains about stationary, with basements and cellars of many houses under water. It is

evident that our losses will be considerable and perhaps most of our forage at Andernach will be spoiled. We have already made arrangements with a German firm to dry the oats at five marks per sack, which, at the present rate of exchange, is ten cents.

At the Rhine Museum, which we visited for the first time to-day, there is a model of Cæsar's bridge at Engers. The bridgehead of the Romans extended from a short distance below us to a short distance above the French; in a word, it was about the same as both of ours at the present time. The headquarters were back at Trèves. The repetition of history in this case is marvelous and striking. Warm weather continues, and, of course, the melting snow in the Alps and the Vosges, as well as in the Black Forest, will keep the Rhine high. To-night we had the Sturgeses and others for dinner and afterwards went to see *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *Pagliacci*.

December 30. The river is rising again and the water, which is about ten inches deep in our cellar, has stopped our electric light. It is reported that the river is going considerably higher to-night and the great inconvenience and loss caused thereby will be felt by nearly all the towns along the river.

I held an inspection of all the Coblenz troops on the polo field grounds this morning. While there is a continual improvement, the personnel will never equal that of the drafted troops in mental or physical attributes.

December 31. The flood reached its maximum at 3 P.M. to-day and was within one foot of the high water of 1882. The generator brought around by the engineers has been placed in front of the house and is supplying us with light, but there can be no heat until the water has dropped.

Presents and greetings from unexpected sources continue to come in. The masked ball to see the old year out was a great success and was attended by several hundred, all in costume, and masked. The French seemed to be somewhat amazed and amused at the marching and rather noisy welcome with which we greeted the New Year.

New Year's Day, 1920. At last there is a falling of the water, to the great relief of everybody. The frequency of destructive water here on the Rhine makes it seem that towns as large and as affluent as Coblenz could afford to have protective walls and that such a measure would be practicable. Made another inspection on Carnival Island of the pumping plant, which is in great danger of being flooded, thus depriving the city of its water supply. This evening we saw the *Schwarzwald Mädel*, which was poor enough. Part of the singing and orchestration was good, but the acting, dancing, and staging left much to be desired. The Germans are best in the serious rôles of music.

January 3. Tirard seems favorable to my idea concerning the Commission's ordinances in case the United States does not ratify the treaty with the other Powers. In respect to this matter I propose simply to publish something like this:

> The following ordinances of the Rhineland High Commission are published for the information and guidance, as far as may be practicable, of this command.

January 5. This afternoon the heads of the Rhineland Commission came over to confer with me regarding a policy for the American zone in case there be ratification at Paris before any action is taken in Washington. Mr. Noyes had prepared a telegram to the State Department setting forth the possible courses as agreed upon by our law officers and which they thought were the only methods we might follow. Instead, I proposed, to the satisfaction of the other members of the Commission, the policy which I had already cabled Mr. Wallace. Practically the same thing was sent in code to the War Department, and Mr. Noyes wired it, as well as his approval, to the State Department. Difficulties may arise; and worst of all, my action is in a measure at variance with instructions. However, it is based on common sense, and is almost a necessity unless we wish to show a cleavage of front to the Germans.

We had fourteen covers at lunch to-day for the officers

and wives of the 2d Brigade, who have been authorized to come up for the holidays and remain until January 10th. Both are clamoring to have the wives' stay made permanent; but until something more definite has been decided as to the movements of the so-called Silesian brigade, I have advised against permitting the wives of these officers to come to the Rhine.

January 6. To-day we went to lunch with the Robertsons at Cologne; afterwards to the shop of Goldschmidt, the jeweler, who had lost J.'s diamond brooch and pearls by theft, and tried to adjust the loss. He claimed that they were stolen from his shop and that he was willing to make reparation, preferring naturally that she accept something in his stock rather than money. An agreement was finally reached whereby certain other pieces of jewelry would be accepted in lieu of the stolen ones.

We returned to the Robertsons' for tea, and reached the opera shortly before six o'clock, to see *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, by Strauss. It lasted until 9.20, and for artistic, bizarre, and superb scenery it is in advance of anything I have thus far seen in any country. The music is excellent, but I prefer any one of the Nibelungen Ring. General Hutchison advanced a rather remarkable thought during the *entr'acte* — that the United States and England should exploit Russia through Germany.

January 11. A telegram from Ambassador Wallace, repeated from Coblenz, says: "Treaty to be ratified at 4.15 this day January 10th. The United States will not participate. I will not be present." At the ball I learned that the ratification had been effected; therefore all the Allies are at peace with Germany, but the Associated Power is not. As we are still technically at war with Germany, it follows that no French general, including Degoutte, who has been named Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces on the Rhine, can have authority over our troops.

On returning from Wiesbaden this morning, I found the ordinances and a proclamation of the High Commission on my desk, waiting for my signal to post them. No con-

sent had ever been given to the view that the Rhineland High Commission, a reality since yesterday, could exercise jurisdiction over the American area, or that General Degoutte could give me orders. If, therefore, I posted the proclamation, it would admit the first of these, and if I published the ordinances as my orders, that would negative the principle backing the proclamation. To-day for the first time it was learned that the Supreme Council had stated that, on ratification, the High Commission's authority should extend to the entire occupied territory; but, in respect to this, Ambassador Wallace has telegraphed the State Department for instructions which have not come.

All this makes my position extremely delicate. A conference with Noyes, Harts, Hunt, Stone, and Davis resulted in an *impasse*, but, after an hour's subsequent deliberation, I resolved to publish the proclamation without any word of mine, but to make the ordinances my orders. At 6 P.M., I had a conference with the entire Commission, which was willing to make concessions since the preamble of the proclamation mentioned only the "Allied Powers" and not the "Allied and Associated Powers." It also consented to my proposal to have the ordinances published as my orders. That recognizes my authority in both civil and military affairs, though it is at variance with the proclamation. Compared with the greater differences between the Allies and the United States, that difference is certainly small. The greatest trouble to be apprehended is that the Germans may seize upon that inconsistency to try to drive a wedge. At best, the situation is difficult for the Commission as well as for me, and it would have been still more difficult for the State and War Departments had I brought it to them for decision or solution.

We dined to-night with Tirard, who had a large gathering, chiefly of the senior officials of the Commission. He thinks the High Commissioners rank with Ambassadors — a view that hardly seems compatible with the intention of certain Governments to send to Berlin Ministers instead of Ambassadors.

January 12. To-day the French and Belgian flags fly over the Praesidium, and I presume the British one will be there soon. Of course the American will hardly appear there until Mr. Noyes or some one has been named High Commissioner, and that only after our ratification.

The rivers are again rising at a faster rate than before, and higher water than on December 31st is foretold by the river authorities.

The final report made by General Pershing on the A.E.F. is a very concise statement of the principal events of our operations in Europe. General Connor left Antwerp for New York yesterday on the *Northern Pacific*, and thus end the American Forces in France, which were heirs to the American Expeditionary Forces.

January 13. I received a letter from the Rhineland High Commission thanking me for my efforts at reconciliation of the differences that are unavoidable under present conditions. Colonel Stone, adviser to Mr. Noyes, informs me that the Commissioners are trying to induce their respective Governments to hurry the United States, although he recalled to them my suggestion to make the best of conditions here without recourse to home action on the part of any country concerned.

There is great unrest in Germany, and there is a report to-day that Noske has been assassinated. It is also reported that he may be proclaimed dictator. Just outside the British area, as well as in it, and opposite the Belgians also, the strikes are becoming serious. Thus far we have reason to congratulate ourselves that there has not been any strike, worthy of the name, in this zone.

Von Tirpitz's "My Memoirs" is a highly interesting and frank account of the activity of a very remarkable man, who was of the greatest value to Germany in the creation of her navy.

January 14. The flood is about two feet higher already than that of December 31st. Two out of three of our pump houses are flooded and there is a possibility that the third will go out. The rain continues.

Madame du Souzy and Madame du Breuil and daughter arrived at the house to-day after having been thirty hours *en route* from Paris. We had a dinner party for them.

I am just in receipt of a telegram from Ambassador Wallace, quoting one from the State Department, which confirms my acts and promises toward the High Commission and its ordinances, and authorizes Mr. Noyes to sit as an unofficial representative on the High Commission. It leaves no doubt as to the attitude of the United States concerning the jurisdiction of the High Commission as to the American area and indirectly of the authority of the High Military Command over the American troops. It also emphasizes the fact that the terms of the Armistice largely determine our status on the Rhine.

January 15. This flood has surpassed the modern record of 1882, and has been exceeded only twice since the seventeenth century. I have had a bridge constructed from the front door of my house to the alley due west, so that we shall be able to go out without getting into the water even if the river goes a couple of feet higher. The Commission seems greatly relieved, though still somewhat in doubt as to the attitude of our Government. In Germany the Independent Socialists, supported by the Spartacists, endeavored to bring about a strike, but Noske seems to have maintained the upper hand. One should not expect the greatest effort on the part of the Germans toward an upbuilding until they know what they are going to be required to pay.

Mr. Dresel, much delayed in his journey from Paris, arrived too late for dinner, and went to Mr. Noyes for the night. Both of them have been over here for a conference with me. He is on his way to Berlin, where he will serve as "Commissioner" with quite a staff. He will in fact be in charge of whatever representation we maintain in Germany during this long Armistice period.

The warm weather continues, yet the Rhine is dropping and the maximum of the flood has been passed.

The more I think of the creation of the Polish State and

the refusal to permit Germany to expand toward the east, the firmer becomes my belief that in an earnest effort to improve the condition of the world, a mistaken policy has been adopted. The state most capable of warding off Bolshevism, by reason of its capacity for organization and its strong sense of discipline, is Germany. It seems, therefore, of the greatest importance to the peace of the world and for the material welfare of the states asking reparations, that a constitutional government be maintained there. An extension of Germany into Russia would have occupied the Germans fully for a very long period, thus relieving the pressure on western Europe. Excessive demands, however much may be the need of the several Allied countries, may bring about chaos in Germany.

January 19. The death of Colonel Read leaves Van Schaick my senior inspector.

Clemenceau accepts the views of our State Department relative to the jurisdiction of the Rhineland Commission over the American zone, but in spite of that I am doing everything practicable toward establishing an administration here in harmony with those in the other zones.

Demand has been made on Holland for the ex-Kaiser, but he will probably never be extradited. The Dutch Consul-General at Wiesbaden, who lunched here to-day with Russell, says it would be considered a great disgrace for the Dutch people to give up the Kaiser, because they consider him a political refugee and therefore entitled to an asylum there.

January 21. No one seems to understand why the pound sterling and the mark continue to drop so far, especially the last. It is even prophesied that the pound will go to $2.50, but that is hardly probable.

Judge Gwynn, our assistant comptroller, and Commander Auld, of the Reparations Commission, lunched here to-day. The former has at last consented to recommend that the troops here be paid in dollars instead of francs. We might just as well be paid in shillings as in francs, for we have no financial relations whatever with

France at this stage. The suggested danger of improving the financial condition of the late enemy by giving him a few dollars cannot fail to be an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Why that stupid policy of maintaining us on a franc basis?

At the church services and burial of Colonel Read this morning, the English showed a very delicate attention by turning out a squad of soldiers that followed our battalion to the cemetery.

January 23. The mark tumbled so greatly yesterday, seventy-six to the dollar, that it looks as though Berlin were behind this fall, thus trying to show the world in general and the Reparations Commission in particular that Germany cannot pay any considerable reparation sums.

January 24. This morning I had all the visiting Military Attachés in my office and told them that, although they are not under my jurisdiction, I proposed to report them to the War Department for their extravagant use of automobiles and that repairs would not be made or spare parts furnished for cars not properly used in the military service. The want of a proper sense of financial responsibility of the average officer to the Government has always been a source of chagrin to me. Our Military Attaché at Sweden and Norway arrived on his way to the Rome conference. His car broke down in the Hartz Mountains and he requested me to send a Cadillac to take him down to Rome. When he came in to see me about it, he received some rather unpalatable cautions concerning a proper sense of financial responsibility toward Uncle Sam.

January 26. Von Tirpitz's diary shows that there was a terrible wrangle between the German high authorities over the U–boat policy, and he also shows, to his satisfaction, that if Germany had waged ruthless submarine warfare in the spring of 1916 instead of the spring of 1917, England would have been compelled to succumb. This diary shows almost continuous bickerings at the German G.H.Q. throughout the war. He was strongly in favor of having the fleet go out from the earliest period, but was always opposed by Bethmann-Hollweg and Jagow.

January 28. With the Sladens, Harts, and Hendricks, we left this morning for Mainz. At noon, just outside of the city, we were met by a squadron of cavalry and escorted to the Grand Ducal Palace, where we were met by General Degoutte and his staff, after having been saluted by the Senegalese guard of honor. Almost immediately after our arrival, we inspected and reviewed a battalion drawn up along the Rhine, under General Schmidt, who is the military Governor of Mainz. The troops were not very tidy and could hardly be called smart, but they passed by in review very well, indeed, with a cadence of about one hundred and forty steps per minute.

After luncheon, we called on General Vandenburg, commanding the 33d Corps, and by 6.30 were listening to the *Rheingold* in the Municipal Opera House. The former imperial loge had been placed at our disposition by General Degoutte. When last in that opera house in '98, it had been as guest of the Kaiser, and there was an extraordinary assemblage of celebrities, including the Kings of Italy, Bavaria, and Württemberg, and the Grand Duke of Baden. I saw in the foyer Consul-General Marck of Holland, who presented me to a compatriot, who asked me where I came from. When answering Kentucky, she recalled that her great-grandfather, Mr. Henry, was born in Paris, Kentucky, but she was from South Carolina. I had not heard her name, but when she told me she was an enemy, I inquired what it was, and she answered: "The wife of General von Bülow."

"Hans or Otto?" I asked.

"Hans. Do you know him?" she replied. Although her husband was with her, he remained at such a distance that no introduction was practicable.

January 31. An inspection of the base hospital, comprising twenty-six buildings and containing seven hundred patients at present, shows it to be an exceptionally complete plant. In general it can be said that our Medical Department is luxuriously maintained and that the service rendered our soldiers is probably second to none.

Will Irwin, *Saturday Evening Post* correspondent, is with us to-day. After tea-time we went to the athletic hut to see the finals in boxing between the French and American forces. In each of the six bouts, the French threw up the sponge after a very short contest, and while the boxers were still on their feet. The result of this boxing contest, even after the second bout, gave the American forces enough points to secure the cup for the Inter-Allied Army Olympiad.

February 1. Large numbers of Soviet troops are threatening Roumania, and Poland is living under a constant menace of invasion by them. It may be that the Allies in the end will have to depend upon Germany to keep this horde of Reds back in Eastern Europe. Nothing is more remarkable than the fact that there may yet be found people, credited with intelligence, who claim to believe that the days of war are past.

The following extract is from a War Department cable:

> Memorandum of Jan. 13, 1919, defining relation between military authority and High Commission. Department has full confidence in your judgment and tact in handling this situation.

This may be considered in the nature of a vote of confidence. While I have established a policy at variance with the unanimous opinion of my legal counsel of four, I am sure the State Department, as well as the War Department, will approve this action when the results are known.

The big fluctuations in the exchange are unfortunately developing speculating activities among the members of this command. In a cable to the War Department to-day, I cited this as additional reason for having the troops paid in dollars instead of francs. There is absolutely no valid reason known to me why payment should be made in francs.

February 3. Lord Grey's open letter to the *Times* is a remarkable procedure for a diplomat and shows that times have truly changed; it will go far to offset the preachings of the Hearst papers and certain Irish politicians in the United States.

February 5. The President has suffered a relapse, and it is possible that the prospects of ratification are improved on that account. Just as the old practice of twisting the lion's tail is being renewed, the British press in part is developing the rôle of plucking feathers out of the eagle's tail.

Von Lersner's refusal to transmit the list of war criminals in Germany, and his resignation, show how serious that question is for his country. It is, indeed, a question whether the present Government can give them up and survive.

February 6. Noske's reply concerning the delivery of the war criminals said that the Government, while not wanting to sabotage the treaty, found this request impossible. As a result, not only the German Government but the Allied Governments find themselves in a most embarrassing position.

In making an inspection of the Munition Supply Dépôt at Mülheim this morning, I walked almost continuously for three hours. There are in all about eighty-seven buildings, covering about one hundred and twenty acres, and containing several hundred thousand rounds of artillery and mortar ammunition as well as large quantities of small-arms ammunition. Instead of being practically a dump as it was, it has become a well-organized supply dépôt with a very judicious disposition of those explosive elements to avoid a general loss in case of an explosion.

February 7. Dispatches indicate that Lloyd George has changed his policy with respect to demanding the German war prisoners, and it may be highly advantageous for the Allies to switch around in this matter, to avoid breaking up Germany, the strongest force on the Continent in maintaining order and discipline.

February 9. A full report of the operations of our medical expedition into Poland to fight typhus was received from Colonel Gilchrist who has charge of it. This detachment must have accomplished much in fighting that dreaded disease, whose victims range from eight to fifty per cent of the population.

February 11. In the inspection and review of the 1st Brigade, garrison of Coblenz, on the high ground above the city, a radical improvement is seen since the inspection during Christmas week.

February 15. The report of Lansing's resignation comes as a surprise, and especially the reported cause therefor — accused by the President of usurping his power while he was ill. A chief of staff is supposed to act in an emergency eliminating his chief.

February 16. The resignation of Lansing for "usurpation of the President's powers" while the latter was ill is considered by some as a bad symptom of the President's condition, which is not improved by the report that he will not permit any participation in the Supreme Council unless Fiume is given back to Jugo-Slavia. In the same category is the report that he has asked for Jusserand's recall by reason of the latter's sympathy with Lodge's views.

The German press seems to be making much of the *Verzicht*, or renunciation, by the Allies of trial of the German war criminals, leaving this to the German High Court sitting at Leipzig.

Authority was received to-day from the War Department to pay our troops in dollars by check, which must, however, be marked "Not Negotiable in Europe." I cabled back that this would only partly remedy the situation.

Our aeroplane service between Paris and Warsaw seems to have fallen through for want of necessary funds. My assistance in that enterprise was necessarily very limited, although it was intended that Coblenz and Berlin should be the two principal intermediary stations.

Colonel and Mrs. Goff and Miss Cleveland dined with us to-night. The former is the son of a late senator from West Virginia, while his wife is the sister of Mrs. Stiles, whose husband served at the Embassy in Berlin with us in '97–'98. Miss Cleveland is our Red Cross representative at Antwerp, charged with the shipment home of war

brides — soldiers' wives. I am refusing permission to all soldiers below the grade of first sergeant to marry, regardless of indiscretions of their Fräuleins, otherwise it would not be long before a large percentage of this command would have wives.

February 19. I gave away another welfare worker, Miss Williams, who has just arrived in Europe, to Major Mittler, who met her on board ship coming over about six weeks ago.

President Wilson's recent actions have brought out some caustic comment in the European press, which seems to be taking Lansing's side. Many feel that his recent illness is influencing his conduct.

February 21. On arrival in Paris, we were met by the Embassy car, bringing a letter from Mr. Hyde saying all was ready for us at 18 rue Adolphe Yvon.

M. Poincaré, who is no longer President, has accepted the chairmanship of the Reparations Commission, and this is considered important for him in case the Millerand Government falls under the necessity of imposing the essentially heavy taxes. The new Minister of Finance, M. Marsal, stated that, whereas there should be about 10,000,000 persons paying taxes in France, there are in fact only about 1,000,000. That to my mind makes the fifth big reason why a proper financial rehabilitation in France will be excessively slow.

The dinner at the Hôtel Quay d'Orsay on the occasion of Washington's Birthday was laid for about one hundred and fifty covers. The four speakers were the American Ambassador, Wallace; the English Ambassador, Lord Derby; the French Minister of Commerce, Isaac; and myself. There was but one toast and that occurred at the end of the dinner, including the King of England, the Presidents of the United States and France, and the prosperity and welfare of these three countries.

February 22. Our Ambassador, following a precedent established here in Paris by General Horace Porter, had the representatives of the South American and Central

American Republics for luncheon. The representative from Haiti seems to be a full-blooded negro, with very black complexion and kinky hair, but withal a very kindly and intelligent face.

The dinner given by Hyde to-night was exceptional. It included Ambassador Matsui, General Mangin, Ambassador Jules Cambon, General Guillemat, member of the Superior Council, General Berdoulat, military governor of Paris, General Maudhuy, General Sérigny, Count Nalèche, M. Merman, prefect of the Moselle, and Elmer Roberts, director of the Associated Press of America.

February 23. Our call this morning on Marshal Foch and General Weygand was most satisfactory. They were most agreeable and especially appreciative of my attitude toward affairs on the Rhine. Marshal Foch said to me: "Je vous remercie sincèrement. Je suis très reconnaissant." He kept me quite a while after I had risen to go, and volunteered to say he proposed to visit the Rhine soon, and of course Coblenz. I invited him to stop at my house. In reference to his rather frequent visits to England, I suggested that he was becoming English. But he replied: "Non, je suis encore Français." He, like every one, is much interested in the outcome at Washington and spoke very freely about the situation as well as the poverty of France and our possession of sixty per cent of the gold of the world.

February 24. The Wallaces have taken over the beautiful house of Prince Murat with the furniture and table furnishings complete. The house with its exquisite garden is admirably suited for an Embassy.

February 25. On arriving back from Paris yesterday I found Harts had gone to Italy and Montgomery was acting chief of staff. He is very solicitous about the report of my speech in *Le Temps* and other French dailies. I assured him my remarks should give no one offense. The burden of my speech was the changed conditions since Washington's day, and that the United States is no longer a separate country with a separate soul.

To Cologne this afternoon to dine with the Biddles, and later to the Hutchisons' ball. We stopped with the Robertsons, who are returning shortly to England permanently. The usual guard of honor was turned out, and the men were spick and span as always. In personal neatness and in general in the school of the soldier, they are well ahead of us, and I might say of the other soldiers of Europe.

While General Robertson is a rough and gruff Britisher, his good sense, cordiality, hospitality, and consideration have always been much in evidence in our relations. He informed me that he was chiefly responsible for putting men of the same age in the same units, a policy which he says is much lauded in England. Thus far, he has no knowledge of what is to be given him on his return to England.

February 28. Hardly a day passes that some French officer is not brought in to pay his respects; but with the English it is much less frequent. Unfortunately our British cousins, with just as much kindly feeling, often show a brusqueness or want of manner less correct than that attributed to Americans and far less punctilious than that of the French.

If the storied magnanimity of victors be exercised, it is my opinion that the recovery of Germany will be faster than that of France. Unfortunately it is very difficult for a Frenchman, situated as he is, to recognize the wisdom of that magnanimity. Their position relative to Germany is so precarious that it is human for them to harbor the conviction that almost any means are justifiable to keep down their ancient and powerful enemy.

February 29. This morning I decided upon the general plan of a march of concentration and review involving the entire command out in the bridgehead.

All of my officers who were present at the last Payot meeting at Wiesbaden say that Payot's language and manner were quite unbecoming a presiding officer and that he directed his attacks especially against my chief signal officer, Ware. I shall not hesitate to report him to

General Degoutte, although Payot reported to me in a very general way at the Tirard party that he had been fighting with my officers all day.

The Treasury Department still declines to pay the troops here in dollars because it does not want dollars in circulation in Germany. Why?

March 1. We heard Mozart's *Magic Flute* at the Stadt Theater last night, given far better than had been anticipated.

Conferred with my officers who participated at the Payot conference in Wiesbaden. I decided to send their report to General Degoutte with an endorsement that will probably bring action curbing Payot's domineering attitude. If that fails, I shall certainly see Degoutte in person about Payot's manner and language.

CHAPTER V

GERMANY STRUGGLING FOR RESTORATION

Inspection of troops — Foch praises Doughboys — America's wealth — I remind Marshal Foch of the time I nearly ran over him — Tommies surpass American troops — French excel in military art — Belgian motor car, Minerva, is built with American machinery — Antiquated guns — Berlin sets up new Government — Germans in revolt — French occupy the Ruhr Basin — Map experts, headed by Foch, at work — At luncheon with Foch — Evidences of collusion between English and Germans — An Ambassador is embarrassed — Rescuing stranded Americans — Uprising along the Ruhr — Release of interned Germans is demanded — American refugees remain in Berlin — Blossom-time — The isolation of France — France strong in land forces — Germany's financial vigor — Enforcing temperance — German troops retire — French occupy Frankfurt — A German iniquity — Secretary Baker anxious concerning advance of the French — France is desperate and moves forward heavy troops — General Degoutte arrives.

March 2, 1920. A committee on disarmament, consisting of one Belgian, one Frenchman, and one German, came to pay their respects to me. The German, Captain Kreite, of the engineers, is the first official of his state to whom I have spoken since the war broke out. I had three *German-Americans*, who are making a study of business in Germany, call on me this morning with a letter from Consul Sempich in Berlin. Although American nationals, they spoke with a decided German accent, and in very pessimistic terms of conditions in Germany, due to shortage of food and the inability to buy. They also think the financial terms of the treaty are impossible of execution by Germany. The head one of the three, Mr. Oehmichen, represents the Mercantile Bank of America, and is thinking of asking authority to establish a branch bank here which can later be removed to Hamburg.

March 4. *Le Rhin Illustré* contains pictures of myself with General Gouraud, and a sketch of me by Harts.

Apparently Germany is making a strong effort to get on her feet again in spite of the terms of the treaty, yet I believe she reckons on having the entire treaty revised.

The action of the Senate in approving Lodge's reservation to Article X will cause the President, if he follows up his threat, to withdraw the treaty. In that event a separate peace would be made with Germany, and that would be a terrible blow to Allied hopes.

After all the fuss about General Payot's action at the conference a few days ago, I find on my desk this morning a communciation from him recommending Colonel Ware, the special object of his attack, for the Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. That is truly an unexpected maneuver in which he has gained the advantage of position.

March 5. To-day I had a concentration of all the troops in the American zone at Ransbach, about one hour from Coblenz by motor, where an inspection and review were held. My field headquarters were established there. The motor transport could not go onto the fields, so it had to be inspected on the roads. The troops presented a fairly good appearance, in full field kit. The overcoats were laid off for the inspection, but were put on before the march-by. This last was poorly done, as the officers and troops have not yet learned to march properly at the rate of one hundred and thirty steps to the minute. This concentration-inspection and review has the advantage of encouraging mobility in the troops and was, in fact, a rather comprehensive maneuver, though involving only two or three days.

March 7. A telegram from General Weygand says the Marshal will be here about noon on Tuesday, the 9th, and will return at once to Paris. To-day I had General Michel, chief of staff, and his operations assistant, Colonel Hering, for lunch. They are *en route* to the conference of British and Belgians with Marshal Foch at Cologne. The latter proposes to come up later and conduct the map problem on the plan of defense of the Rhine. That should be of the greatest interest to all of us, and I shall ask that it be held here in the central bridgehead. In Foch's discourse on his entrance into the Académie Française, I find this most striking sentence of a leader:

De même qu'un gouvernement ne peut avoir dans la paix que la politique de son état militaire, de même une armée quand elle entre en campagne ne peut avoir qu'une attitude et une tactique; celles correspondant à la politique jusqu'alors pratiqué par l'État.

One battalion, one battery, and both troops were ordered in from maneuvers to Coblenz to prepare themselves to render honors to Marshal Foch on his arrival.

March 9. Marshal Foch, with General Weygand, arrived at nine o'clock this morning, his car being attached to a regular train. With most of my Generals and the two troops of cavalry, I met him at the station. He was apparently surprised at the appearance of the cavalry, and complimented it very highly by saying he was delighted to "have the Boches see such well-appointed, well-disciplined soldiers from a new, far-away country, America." Along the Mainzerstrasse the Black Battery was parked and a battalion of infantry was drawn up on Clemens Platz. This he inspected carefully, asking many questions; then he reviewed both it and the artillery. He was decidedly complimentary regarding the soldiers, and added that "soldiers are like their chief." We then drove to my headquarters, where he, General Weygand, and I were in conference for half an hour. He was specially interested in knowing the sentiment of the Germans, leading up to the Separatist movement and the natural western frontier of Germany, the Rhine. There is no doubt he still harbors that frontier in his mind, but feels that such a change "ne peut pas se faire au galop."

I asked him how long he thought England would consent to maintain troops on the Rhine, to which he replied: "Ils ne le savent pas eux-mêmes." Again, as at Paris, he spoke of the great wealth of America and the poverty of France. Only slightly were the plans of defense touched upon, but he told me he would arrive at Mainz probably next month for the map problem, and that I should be present or send my chief of staff. I assured him that such an opportunity would not be lost by me, and that it might recall to him his days as an instructor at l'École de Guerre.

MARSHAL FOCH VISITS COBLENZ, 1920
General Weygand, Marshal Foch, General Allen, M. Roussellier (French Deputy High Commissioner)

At luncheon I recalled the *contretemps* on the highway just south of Châlons, September 12, 1914, when I almost ran over the Marshal, then only General Foch, and his staff. We were motoring at comparatively high speed, when suddenly we discovered a group of French officers on foot directly in front of us on the road. We stopped just in time to avoid running them down.[1] Foch, whom I did not recognize at the time, his field-glasses in hand, was justly furious at us. At the side of the road was a little house. A flagstaff planted in the ground had the French cockade above the flag, from which I knew that this was the headquarters of high officers. A little German manual which I had with me had indicated the significance of the cockade.

To my surprise, both the Marshal and General Weygand remembered the incident well, and Weygand said: "I was the staff officer, then lieutenant-colonel, who stopped your automobile." I apologized for my act, and told him and the Marshal that I had been afraid in previous meetings to mention my audacity.

March 10. Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson came down from Cologne to-day with Lady Wilson and General Hutchison to lunch with the British High Commissioner. I gave him the same military honors that were shown Marshal Foch yesterday. As he came by automobile, the two cavalry troops met him at the northern outskirts of Coblenz-Lützel, and escorted him to my headquarters where Sir Harold Stuart was waiting with me to receive him. The Marshal was in an extremely affable and talkative mood. He said he would be at Mainz Monday next with Marshal Foch for the map problem. He also said he would require seven days to get a British division to Cologne in case of need, and that the port of Antwerp could not be used because it must be reached through Holland. He was relatively very mild in praise of my troops, and in my opinion he was right, for in set-up and personal appearance it is hard to equal the British soldiers. As to horses, equipment, and wagons, the British are easily

[1] (Editor's Note.) Marshal Foch has since often told the story.

ahead of the troops of any of the Allies. In my opinion, we come easily in second place. In the theory of soldiery and in military art, I put the French well ahead of the British.

The French division commander at Bonn, half of whose troops fall to me in the plan of defense, came down to see me. The other half of his troops go to the British commander. He is evidently uneasy as to what is to happen to him, but I shall remove that uneasiness by asking him to command the brigade under me.

March 11. We arrived at Antwerp at seven o'clock this morning, and were met by the Port Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Koenig. I made an inspection of the temporary buildings that we are just completing at the wharves for convenience in housing our permanent personnel and in handling our stores, as well as for providing shelter for our troops that pass in and out through this port.

The acting mayor, Mr. Strauss, who was in the Belgian Legation in Washington during the Civil War, conducted us through the mayoralty (Hôtel de Ville), considered one of the best examples of Flemish Renaissance art. We lunched at the mess now run at our headquarters building, then paid our respects to Lieutenant-General Drubbel, commanding the Military Department of Antwerp. We called on the Governor of the Province of Antwerp, Baron van de Werve, who expressed gratitude for America's service to Belgium during and since the war.

March 12. We inspected the Minerva Automobile Plant, where the best automobiles of Belgium are manufactured, almost wholly by American machinery. While this is a large factory, it is clear that it cannot compete with the United States in mass production. There are at present 1500 employees, but the plant is behind its programme. A large part of its production is sent to the United States, where these cars are profitably sold for $4000.

Koenig's instructions to conduct the Antwerp base port with the least possible personnel and expenditures, but always in a manner worthy of our representation in a foreign country, were strongly impressed upon him.

General Drubbel escorted us to the partially destroyed fort, directly between Antwerp and Malines, upon which fire was directed by the Germans from the cathedral tower of Malines. This fort was constructed in 1872, whilst those farther east were modern and were built in 1907. The guns of the old fort could not reply to the 220 and 380 mm. German guns eighteen kilometres away. There was nothing to do but evacuate, although comparatively little destruction was wrought. General Drubbel says the 380 gun fired one shot every six minutes.

March 13. This has been an eventful day for Germany, as a new Government has been set up in Berlin. Thanks to the two naval brigades, the Bauer-Ebert-Noske Government was driven out and von Kapp as Chancellor and Luttwitz as Minister of War have set up a Government of the Right. Berlin is reported quiet, but the Ministers who were driven out have assembled at Dresden and have refused to recognize the von Kapp Government. It is reported that Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg will not recognize it. This new Government has annulled the minutes and Constitution of the Weimar Assembly, which it has simply wiped out of existence. It has, however, declared for a republic and for the execution of the treaty. It is too soon to know how far the new Government will be monarchical. The Berlin affair may have far-reaching consequences, and the plan of defense might become a plan of progression. It is a rather remarkable coincidence that the Berlin *Putsch* should happen just as we are making final dispositions and decisions relative to a defense.

March 14. This should prove the crucial day of the German revolution. There are no disturbances in Berlin, but southern Germany, including Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden is not responding to the new Government in Berlin. This *Putsch* may separate the country into North and South Germany. I learned to-day that Millerand, who recently appeared at the Supreme Council in London with Marshal Foch and General Weygand, promised that troops should occupy the Ruhr Basin about

March 1st, that data connected therewith had been compiled, and that the troops are available. Marshal Foch thought at first that eight divisions would suffice, but he has reconsidered and decided there should be twelve.

I have had bulletins nearly every hour to-day. In Coblenz the Majority Socialists have just amalgamated with the Independent Socialists and have cautioned against any strikes that would interfere with the American forces. It is fortunate that my maneuvers happened just when they did, and I intend to have longer ones at an early date to keep this command field-fit, and above all to let the Germans see that they are genuine soldiers.

It will be interesting in the map plan to-morrow if the Marshals should repulse or rather drive back our Rhine forces, and if Foch would use this fact to increase the Rhine forces and reinforce his political views.

Some members of my G–2 section think England's hand is seen in this *Putsch*, but I fail to understand why an unstable Germany can help her interests. Most of the day has been passed in my office, for I am deeply interested in the critical condition into which German affairs are plunged, but I am now aboard my car headed for Mainz.

March 15. The two Marshals, the headquarters of General Degoutte, of the British, of the Belgians, and of the Americans, are all installed in this big Casino engaged in the plan of defense for resisting an attack by the Germans. Neither the British nor Belgian commanding generals are present, but their chiefs of staff and operations officers represent them.

All this is taking place while the revolution in Germany is still under way, and no one can tell approximately what will happen. Sir Henry Wilson thinks it cannot end without much bloodshed. When I showed him one of my bulletins saying the English were apprised in advance of what was going to take place in Berlin, he answered, "Yes and No"; I then proceeded to explain by saying that Colonel Ryan, in charge of civil affairs in Cologne, had been prophesying it since June. His final remarks neither ad-

mitted nor denied. Marshal Foch told me he did not believe the English Government knew anything about it, but left the impression that certain British officials might have had knowledge of it. He said the new German Government would last only a few days.

The problem was developed in the usual map problem style, but under the most extraordinary circumstances of place, setting, and actual conditions. It went steadily on from nine to twelve; then began again at three and continued until nearly six. Whilst nothing can be said of the actual directions and moves, still it can be stated that Marshal Foch found some very serious mistakes about which he did not fail to express his views. He visited each headquarters and made his critique there. The whole day has been one of exceptional interest and extreme professional value.

General Degoutte gave a dinner of seventy covers in the Grand Ducal Palace for the Marshal. It was evident that it was for Marshal Foch and not for Field Marshal Wilson. General Degoutte spoke very plainly at the table concerning the necessity of the alliance with England rather than a friendship between the two countries. He also protested against President Wilson's statement characterizing the French as militaristic.

During the afternoon a telegram came from Ambassador Wallace asking me for an early conference at Paris with him and Mr. Noyes. This is probably brought about by recent telegrams sent to Washington by Noyes, which have possibly influenced the President in the remarks he recently made in a communication to the Supreme Council to the effect that France is in the hand of the militarists.

March 16. The exercises began promptly at nine this morning under the same conditions as yesterday, and continued until about eleven, when Marshal Foch, General Weygand, General Degoutte, and his chief of staff visited each headquarters. At my headquarters the Marshal's talk was not specially lengthy, and his estimate of our work may be summed up in his own words: "Vos dispositions

sont d'aplomb, bon, bon." At 11.45 we were assembled in the headquarters of General Degoutte, where the two Marshals awaited, and the maps were ready for the critique. Marshal Foch directed me to take my place by the side of Field Marshal Wilson, which I did, with my staff at hand. General Weygand opened the critique and proceeded with it in a masterful way, stopping at certain places, where Marshal Foch took up the thread and made certain strictures on the operations, and then Weygand continued with his critique. This lasted about forty-five minutes; then Marshal Foch asked the heads in turn, beginning with Marshal Wilson, if they wished to make any remarks. From that room we went down to a very large one in the same building to a luncheon given by Marshal Foch. Sir Henry Wilson sat on his right and I on his left. General Degoutte and his corps commanders were on the opposite side. As the dinner lasted over two hours, I had ample conversation with Marshal Foch covering a large range of subjects. Whilst he asked about General Pershing, he expressed no desire to see him when I told him he might come over this year, nor did he request to be remembered to him. Marshal Wilson hurried away from the lunch before it was ended, and Foch exclaimed, jestingly, "À l'Anglaise!"

March 17. General Drubbel of the Belgian Army, with his wife and chief of staff, arrived about noon at my headquarters, escorted by a troop of cavalry sent out to meet him. He inspected and reviewed a battalion on the Clemens Platz which by its steadiness greatly impressed him, causing him to exclaim several times, "Merveilleux!" We had the Belgian and American Commissioners with their wives to meet them at lunch. Mr. Noyes and myself had to leave early for Paris for the conference with the Ambassador. Colonel Peek, my G–1, accompanies me instead of an aide.

Reports from Germany, in spite of the coalition of the two Governments and the wise counsel of Hindenburg, continue serious. The Spartacists in Berlin are beginning to

show great strength. The amazing manner in which the English agents appear in the various temporary capitals in Germany, and seem to be heard, almost gives the impression of collusion in the political matters now taking place in that country.

Mr. Noyes showed me on the train the dispatches he had sent to the State Department and the replies that he had received, and that is the first information I had of them. His action in sending such communications without conference either with his colleagues or me seems unwise.

March 18. Unfortunately this train arrives too often on time, at 6 A.M., and to-day was not an exception. An Embassy car met us. Under the present conditions of non-action by us on the treaty and the recent accusation by President Wilson that France had fallen into the hands of militarists, our Ambassador has a difficult and embarrassing position. I went over the Rhine situation pretty thoroughly with him. The importance of team-work at the present time was stressed, as well as the great value to the world and to France in particular, that neither English nor American troops leave the Rhine now. I was asked my views concerning both France and Germany in a military sense, and also the views of Marshal Foch as far as they had been made known to me during his recent stay in connection with the working-out of the problem of defense. Mr. Noyes was called in a second time; then followed my second call. The Ambassador appeared to be pleased with my views which he said coincided with what *they* thought. In fact, he was almost demonstrative. Leland Harrison was present throughout. It seems that the entire Embassy was in sympathy with what I had to state and probably their cable to Washington will follow my views. It is a great misfortune that we do not attach more importance, in the selection of our representation abroad, to knowledge of world affairs and to special fitness for the missions. Until the national conscience with respect to world politics is made more alert, it is hardly probable that we will attach sufficient value to such selection.

Bulletins concerning the unsatisfactory conditions in Central Germany were received from Bagby at Coblenz during the day. I finally directed the sending of a train into Germany to bring back stranded Americans. At first it was a question of only the Americans at Leipzig, but Mr. Dresel now wants the Americans in Berlin brought out also. The train will go only to one point, Berlin or Leipzig, where all desiring to leave may assemble. As the German Government would not guarantee the safety of the train in the face of growing Spartacism, it is desirable that it go as directly and make the journey as quickly as possible.

March 19. The stay in Paris was limited to fifteen hours. Just before reaching Metz, while in the region of my operations south of Pagny where the Hindenburg Line reached the Mosel, the car porter came to tell me how the troops there had fought. As my division faced that situation for a month in almost continued fighting and as its casualties totaled more than five thousand men there, the information of the porter was very amusing.

On reaching Coblenz I find the situation in Germany less satisfactory than indicated by the French press. Mr. Dresel called me up by phone from Berlin to insist on my sending trains for Americans, both in Leipzig and Berlin. Ambassador Wallace wants my views on the request of the German Government to put eighteen battalions in the Ruhr Basin and south. I am endeavoring to have the German authorities here direct a train to leave Berlin, carrying away Americans; and this they are earnestly endeavoring to do, while I am making up a train, principally of Red Cross cars, with a hired German crew, to go to Leipzig.

March 20. Conflicting rumors have been going round to-day as to the magnitude of the uprising in the Ruhr Basin. The Belgians report 100,000 laborers under arms, most of whom they say are well equipped. Kuhlenthal, the German bridgehead officer, says the number will not exceed 40,000. About 150 officers, 250 non-commissioned officers, and 750 enlisted men, all of the Reichswehr, went

into or were driven into the English zone and have been interned. The German Government is asking that they be released with their arms, and I have been approached by German authorities to express my views. The German Government claims that, in the interests of the Allies and peace, these men should be authorized to return to unoccupied Germany.

The train made up here and started for Leipzig is, according to all reports, going steadily to its destination. Mr. Dresel reports that the situation in Berlin has improved. Our Embassy in Paris says that news from us is the best that reaches that city. A rather remarkable feature of this present revolution is that the mark has not gone lower, while the franc has dropped.

This afternoon I gave away another welfare worker, Miss Wilcox, who married Lieutenant Matlock in the Palace chapel.

March 21. The German Government officially requests that the interned troops be released, and the matter has been brought before the Rhineland High Commission. Although the Supreme Council authorized Germany to use sufficient troops to put down the Ruhr uprisings, the Commission declined the request. Mr. Noyes neither approved nor disapproved. He came with the statement of the Commission which each Commissioner is to wire to his Government, to discuss the matter with me, that he might telegraph my views in which he concurred.

The British were strong for holding the troops, the French less so, and the Belgians at first favored having them released. Sir Harold's attitude seemed one of impartial neutrality, supported by the fear that another Russian situation might develop, thus making a change of front difficult. I recommended that the interned troops be surrendered; that an attitude of neutrality implied or suggested that Bolshevism or Spartacism is a legal contender; that the United States does not uphold Reds at home nor condone them abroad; that delivery now would greatly serve, in a moral way, as an aid to the new German constitutional Government.

The French have replied to the German request asking authority to send troops into the neutral zone, saying it could be done on the basis of an equal number being sent into Frankfurt by themselves. Such a counter-proposal must be disquieting to the Germans and probably is not helpful in allaying the unfortunate bad feelings between these two countries.

The trains to Berlin and Leipzig succeeded in getting through and the former is back here with only thirty-five Americans. While there were many more who were clamoring to get out, they began to realize that the situation in Germany was less desperate than they had believed and therefore declined to profit by the arrival of the train which was sent to them under such difficulties.

March 22. The refugees from Berlin came in to see me this morning. Among the number were Consul Sempich and a lieutenant-colonel of the Reserves, Alan Goldsmith. Their description of conditions in Berlin would indicate that the general trend was toward the Left; in fact, sentiment the world over now seems to be moving a little in that direction. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill preach fear of a labor government; France is apprehensive regarding Socialism; and the United States seems to have regained its own by releasing a considerable number of Reds for expulsion from the country. The Communists and Spartacists in the Ruhr Basin are so extreme that the Independent Socialists will not follow them.

The Senate's failure to ratify and the return of the treaty to the President has left an exceedingly bad impression of America's conduct in the world's trouble. Above all, the President is drastically criticized by most of Europe.

March 23. While the Ruhr situation remains unchanged there is a general improvement through Germany. The Ebert Government is endeavoring to treat with these extremists instead of using force. Much blood has already been shed there and, due to the armament of the Red forces, probably more will be spilled.

The French are extremely reluctant to lift the burdens

of the treaty for Germany, apparently preferring to risk a *débâcle* in that country. If such a thing should happen, the same would probably quickly extend to France.

Blossoms on the magnolia, peach, and plum trees, in the gardens, show how well advanced spring is this year.

March 25. The situation in the Ruhr Basin is improving, and, though almost all of that region is held by the Left, much work is being carried on. While the Reichswehr is assembling with a view to carrying out the will of the Ebert Government in the Ruhr, it now looks as though there would be a compromise through conference with the revolutionists. In the mean time a new cabinet has been announced and consists of six Majority Socialists, three Centrists, and three Democrats, and not a single Independent Socialist. These party designations are not so radical as their names would indicate to us.

France finds her big allies opposed to some of the financial terms of the treaty, all of which she demands be carried out. That policy and English rivalry are tending to isolate her. The solidarity of war is crumpling under the ægis of peace.

A commander of our navy lunched with me yesterday and says that English air authorities are strongly opposed to the treaty clauses preventing Germany's manufacture of commerical airships. Germany proposes a big American trunk-line with Cadiz for its European port and with branch lines of smaller ships extending to England and other parts of Europe.

March 27. General Mordacq, the new commander of the 30th Corps at Wiesbaden, called officially yesterday and was met by a guard of honor of one company. He was Clemenceau's military lieutenant.

The franc is dropping while the mark continues steady. All the Allies except France favor authorizing German troops to enter neutral territory to suppress the outbreak in the Ruhr Basin; France wants to send Allied troops in to accomplish those results. She evidently sees that her acts are continually increasing Germany's hatred and

must have serious influence in the future. It would be a tremendous blunder for Allied troops to be moved in there unless it were absolutely impossible for Germany, either by negotiations or by force, to bring about order.

The position of the United States in respect to the treaty and toward Germany and the changed feeling of Europe toward Mr. Wilson are subjects for much thought and some chagrin. There is grave doubt as to whether Congress can declare a state of peace with Germany: and even if it could, it would probably be necessary to pass it over the President's veto. In that event, a treaty would be required to authorize real peace, leaving the United States open to the criticism of the Allies for having broken the pledges of Versailles and for having failed to carry out the spirit of its war purposes and achievements. In the mean time we continue here in Central Europe under Armistice conditions, technically at war with Germany.

France now has an army of 510,000 Europeans, 164,000 North Africans, and 120,000 colonial natives. The class of 1920 will give in the two sections of March and October 275,000 men, which, with certain colonials and volunteers, less the demobilizations of the class of 1918, will amount to 335,000. The French peace army, therefore, will be 749,000, a burden too great for her and one that must react seriously on her financial status.

March 29. The wonderful spring weather continues, and the fruit trees, numerous in all the valleys, are beautiful. This warm weather is a Godsend to Europe in its fuel shortage; it also presages early returns from the soil which will do much to alleviate the food situation.

The Constitutional Government is finally getting the better of the Reds in the Ruhr Valley and has issued an ultimatum to them in respect to laying down their arms and resuming work. It has been decided finally between France and Germany that the latter may send troops into the neutral zone for a period of three weeks only, and in case there is no withdrawal at the end of that time, France will send troops into Frankfurt.

March 30. The Berlin Bourse has reopened, and I am surprised to see stock quotations at the same high figures. That, taken with the slow but steady increase in the mark, seems to be conclusive that Germany still has great financial force in spite of her disasters, and it suggests strongly that she will live through them.

At a recent dinner at Mainz given by the French chief of staff, all the foreign officers were invited except the British, and it is certain that this omission was not accidental.

Mr. Noyes consulted with me as to a cable to the State Department, to inform Washington that the Commission had agreed, at the request of General Degoutte, to declare a state of siege in Mainz, contingent upon the French advancing to hold Frankfurt and Darmstadt. This movement is actuated by the Reichswehr going into the neutral zone in the Ruhr region without authority. The German Government claims that this act is not a violation of the spirit of the treaty, but is a necessity attested by telegrams from numerous municipal officials in that region. Noyes eventually modified his cable and suggested to the Department that our influence be used to restrain the French from making the advance. Apparently they are acting on their own responsibility and without the approval of the Allies. If the Ruhr disasters are not cured or suppressed by the Germans, it may be necessary for the Allies to do it. The French assert that the Germans are acting in bad faith.

In my opinion, the occupation of Frankfurt and Darmstadt by the French, whether as an earnest, sincere desire to have a guarantee against the recognized technical violation of the treaty in respect to sending troops into the Ruhr by Germany, or as a further step toward keeping Germany down, would be a serious mistake for the welfare of all concerned, but especially for peace. While deeply sympathizing with France in her unhappy state, I cannot fail to believe that her leaders are conducting a policy that will eventually injure her.

April 5. Assurances came by telegram at 4.30 this morn-

ing, addressed to Major Kuhlenthal, signed by both the German Minister of War and by General Laschberg, in charge of all the Reichswehr troops of the Cassel region, including the Ruhr Basin, declaring that all the troops will be withdrawn within one week. I had Bagby phone this to the Embassy at Paris and dispatched a courier with a personal letter to the Ambassador.

To meet General Michel, Commander-in-Chief of the Belgian Army of the Rhine, I sent out the two cavalry troops just north of Lützel. They conducted him to headquarters; thence I escorted him to the house of the Belgian High Commissioner, where we lunched. Tirard was at the lunch and, in a confidential talk relative to the policy of France in the proposed taking of Frankfurt and Darmstadt, did not express assurance as to the wisdom of the move. He says that France's desperate economic condition and her increasing isolation are extremely painful to him. When the High Commission came into existence, it was Tirard's intention to have a big conclave, in which the German high officials and leaders might be invited to participate. I have heard nothing concerning this, or its failure to materialize since Tirard first mentioned it, but now it is learned that the Germans did not desire to participate in it. He also told me that the French had endeavored to bring about an economic understanding with Germany, but that this was refused likewise. France's situation is most unenviable, and she feels that her only chance of saving her dignity, honor, and safety is by showing the strong hand.

To-night Bagby came up with a telegram from the Paris Embassy, propounding seven questions bearing on the Ruhr, the effect of occupying additional territory by the Allies, our attitude, etc. The Embassy would like answers to these questions before ten o'clock to-morrow. As the wires are down, it must go by telephone. It is fortunate we have maintained our own wire. In my courier letter to-day I endeavored to show the unwisdom of not permitting the German troops to bring about order in the Ruhr, and the

equally great imprudence of taking additional territory now. As it will be two or three months before the new harvests are available, I foresee some hectic periods ahead.

April 6. A telephone message from Coleman early this morning stated that the French had occupied Frankfurt and Darmstadt at five o'clock without opposition, that everything was proceeding according to schedule, including the reserves from France, and that Hanau and Homburg would also be held. The Germans are proceeding with the cleaning up of the Ruhr, whence many armed Reds are coming into the British zone and are being disarmed. General Degoutte's proclamation is to the effect that these cities were being taken over solely because the Germans had violated the treaty by sending troops into the neutral zone, and that the French troops would be drawn back as soon as the German troops had entirely left that zone.

About five o'clock this afternoon, the written promise of the German Government sent from Berlin by courier reached me, signed by the Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Müller, as follows:

> The German Government obligates itself to withdraw all troops in excess of the authorized strength as soon as operations in the Ruhr Basin for the reëstablishment of the Constitutional power have been concluded. The German Government delivered on the 4th of this month in Paris a declaration that it expects to be able to do so within a week.

April 7. General Degoutte's proclamation has appeared. The French resent Germany's treatment of the workers in the Ruhr Basin for whom they seem to be showing as much solicitude as they do hatred for the Reichswehr. When it is remembered that all the German troops must be out of the neutral zone by April 10th, and that the French are now bringing up the 11th and 13th Divisions, the situation as to the Ruhr becomes most suggestive. That Basin will require more than ordinary policing for some time. Should disorders follow, who will suppress them?

The French control officer with three Germans — one

Independent Socialist and two Communists from the Ruhr — brought a story to the High Commission to-day wholly different from the information we had been receiving from reliable sources, and strange to say they made a strong impression on the Commission. I am sure from what Noyes says that much of what they told the Commission is not borne out by facts.

April 8. In Mainz at the Grand Ducal Palace Degoutte gave me an account of the taking of Frankfurt and Darmstadt. Then he took up the note I had sent him about not being informed concerning the French troops which had been sent through my zone, which he explained was due to an error. The matter uppermost in his mind was the Ruhr Basin. On that subject we talked long and seriously, for our views are not in accord. M. Tirard arrived, and we resumed the Ruhr discussion, and continued it until lunch; also indirectly during the lunch, but again very directly afterwards. Degoutte's chief of staff, General Michel, participated part of the time, and I had Bagby with me part of the time. The whole tenor of the talk was based on the iniquity of Germany in creating a false situation in the Ruhr that she might maintain large numbers of soldiers directed against France; that there was no trouble in the Ruhr until the Reichswehr entered; that the Majority Socialists, Independent Socialists, and Communists wanted to maintain order, but were opposed by the militaristic attitude of the Reichswehr; that after April 10th, Degoutte hoped the Reichswehr would be withdrawn, but he did not believe they would be; that peace might follow their withdrawal — if not, it would be up to the Governments to decide upon suitable measures. It is obvious that French occupation of the Ruhr has been visualized, but possibly they would prefer control of the Ruhr by the Allied Board of Control in Germany. This thought was expressed during the conversation.

Throughout the several hours passed with General Degoutte, I felt that France's actions are based on fear that Germany will rehabilitate herself and that now is the mo-

ment to take every possible measure that may separate the states or elements from Germany, especially with a view to weakening Prussia. All in all, I feel more sorry for France in her plight than ever before, for I realize that she is playing a very dangerous game. In her economic distress and her shortage of man-power, she should really act in concert with her friends and make some sort of livable terms with her arch-enemy, rather than increase hostility.

On my return, Montgomery showed me a cable from Secretary Baker, showing much solicitude lest I take some sort of action here without authority from Washington:

Situation created by French advance viewed with grave concern here. No diplomatic action has as yet been taken. You should in no case participate in any action or make any military interest beyond complete control of area assigned for American occupation pursuant to Armistice. You will be advised of any action taken here, or any modification of policies, if one is made. Report at once any situation seeming to require any action on your part, or any situation likely to arise and to call for action, so that consideration can be given to it here. It is of importance that we should not be drawn into a course of conduct not approved by Government in advance.

My reply was approximately:

Armistice instructions relative to use of American forces have been and will continue to be strictly carried out. We are in no way committed to anything pertaining to offensive action with Allies and nothing of that kind will be undertaken without instructions from Washington. There is nothing to indicate now probability of defensive action. Situation in Ruhr may become critical after April 10th if German Government be not allowed to maintain forces other than police there. My estimate of Ruhr situation and of the Frankfurt advance sent by mail. A possible occupation of Ruhr is visualized. An alternative would be a control or supervision of the Ruhr by the Allied Control Board in Germany. Great fear of Germany and her own weak status largely influencing French military moves. In my opinion Germany is fast cleaning up Ruhr. No move will be made by me without instructions.

April 9. Not having heard from Ambassador Wallace until late to-night, I began to imagine that he was not

specially interested or appreciative of the estimates of the situation that I had been sending him by courier. But his code message leaves no doubt regarding that, for he thanks me heartily and asks sundry questions about the German situation and my opinion fully expressed as to the interview with Degoutte, that he may advise Washington.

This morning J. and I went down to Rolandseck for lunch with Princess Radziwill, who had there the Hutchisons and the Marquis de Lillers from Cologne. General Hutchison informed me that the French desired to quarter some of the 13th Division in Cologne, but that permission was emphatically refused.

April 10. This, too, is a fateful day, as it fixes the date when all the Reichswehr should be out of the neutral zone. I sent another courier letter and an exhaustive report on the history of the recent disorders in the Ruhr, from March 19th to April 9th, to Mr. Wallace. I informed him that only those troops in excess of the number authorized by the Agreement of August 19th would be withdrawn; and suggested that the desire to detach parts of Germany from Prussian control, following Napoleon's policy of creating small states, is the third strong motive of the French.

The Belgians have at last come out in favor of the taking over of Frankfurt; the British state the move is inopportune, though the Northcliffe press approves it; and the Italians, like ourselves, have said nothing, but it is understood that they are in accord with the British view.

My Ruhr report is so sequential and exhaustive that it must carry conviction as to fact. It refutes wholly most of the current statements in regard to motives and events. Whatever may have been the early intention as to the occupation of the Ruhr, I am sure the results of the Frankfurt move have proved a great deterrent. In three weeks the mark has risen from eighty to the dollar to fifty, while the franc has dropped from fourteen to the dollar to sixteen. Although victorious, France is in a desperate plight; last year her expenditures exceeded her revenues by 10,000,000,000 francs; in the coming year, including her

new big loan, there will be a deficit of 8,000,000,000; she has paper money in circulation to the extent of 37,000,000,000; her total debt is 238,000,000,000; her imports are just now five times as great as her exports; a large part of her man-power between twenty and thirty years of age was lost in the war; only about one million people are taxed where there should be ten; her peace army totals 794,000, which, however, by October 1st, should be reduced to 739,000; and she dare not impose taxes sufficient to balance her budget. In counting on large reparations from Germany, her people are not now working as hard as the Belgians and Germans.

I gave away another Y girl, Miss Barksdale, of Nashville, Tennessee, to Captain Zerbee, of the Signal Corps, at Colonel Sommervell's house this afternoon.

April 11. The occupation of Frankfurt has shown Germany that there is a cleavage in the Allied front. The differences that have thus arisen have disappointed France, and I believe that, whatever may have been the intentions regarding the seizure of the Ruhr, they have been given up for the present.

Coleman called up to-night to say that the French had no intention of extending their Frankfurt occupation to take in Aschaffenburg, which I believe is a wise decision.

April 12. As to the strength of the Reichswehr in the neutral zone, our knowledge comes from such authentic sources and data that I have no reason whatever to accept the British estimate of 40,000, which is twice the actual number there. In addition to the 11th and 13th Divisions, the French have brought up to the Rhineland from France eight regiments of infantry, four groups of heavy field artillery, and also three groups and four squadrons of aviation troops. That truly confirms my opinion that they had visualized the occupation of the Ruhr; they had intended to take over the Ruhr Basin. The franc has again dropped, while the mark has gone up. Excepting Belgium, the Allies have failed to approve France's advance to

Frankfurt, and in consequence I presume it is no longer a question of the occupation of the Ruhr.

April 13. The German-French situation is calmer to-day and France is reported to have said that no more advances would be made without the approval of the Allies. Evidently England's answer to the Frankfurt incident was more caustic than France had anticipated, but it has had no small influence. The fact that Italy largely agrees with England leaves France to ponder over the future with amazement, and I dare say with pessimism. Possibly Washington may have expressed some views bearing on the subject.

At eight o'clock this morning, my birthday, the headquarters band serenaded me with several numbers, including the *Sambre et Meuse*, rendered well enough to do credit to a good French band. The house orderlies sent me a large Japanese basket with sixty-one roses in it and the headquarters stable sent me a basket of flowers with a letter of congratulation. This evening I witnessed the gymkhana of the Ehrenbreitstein machine-gunners. My chiefs of staff sections not only gave a sumptuous dinner at the Coblenzerhof, but presented me with a fine crystal inkstand with silver top and a silver blotter-holder.

The British have asked permission to send down an officer to serve as liaison with my G–2. In view of their lack of accurate knowledge concerning the Ruhr and the movements of the French, I am sure this will be useful to them.

April 14. Our Berlin Commissioner, Mr. Dresel, arrived to-day, and is stopping in the house.

Minor troubles are still occurring in the Ruhr, and new ones at Plaum. Until the new crop is harvested, hunger will dominate peace.

April 15. General Le Conte, commanding the French Corps at Bonn, arrived at noon for a stag luncheon. He expressed much astonishment over some radical remarks made by Mr. Noyes in his conversations with him. The French made a tremendous fuss over the Belgian battalion when the train carrying it stopped at Mainz *en route* to

Frankfurt. It really meant much to them, as it showed the Germans that all the Allies had not deserted France.

April 17. The situation in Germany seems somewhat improved, but that country will have very serious troubles before the new harvest arrives. The French and British have largely compounded their differences and both are now exerting pressure on Germany in respect to the Ruhr, and in particular as to general order in the empire. Congress seems to have discovered that Germany is not paying the expenses of our troops over here. It has made payments of marks whenever they have asked for them; but, having many millions of marks in our safes from sales of captured enemy property and of our own surplus supplies which could be disposed of only for marks, it has been considered best by G.H.Q. and our Treasury representative in Paris to utilize these marks as far as practicable for the support of the army. We have never, however, renounced our right to full payment for our forces. As these marks simply could not all be used, and were always becoming less valuable, it would have been well to have disposed of them.

In reading the House debates on the army reorganization bill, it is amazing to see such special pleading as is practiced, and likewise the failure to estimate at its real value to the country the adoption of universal training.

I am reading the answer of Professor Hazen of Columbia University to Keynes's book. In spite of the defects of the latter, it will have a tremendous influence in causing many to favor a revision of the Versailles Treaty, and it will be welcomed everywhere in Germany.

April 21. General Payot has managed to have an ordinance passed by the High Commission permitting him to do just what I have refused him these several months, namely, to give orders direct to German telegraph and telephone officials and other agents of communication in this zone who are under my chief signal officer.

The commercial and industrial capacity inherent in the German state is very marked, and I look forward to seeing

a restoration of commercial and industrial activity making headway by bounds here.

April 23. Noyes and Tirard were at a dinner with the Margetts to-night. Tirard again talked of the critical condition of France due to her being more or less deserted by the United States and England, and to her terrible financial embarrassment. He thinks his country is on the verge of a crisis, though he did not exactly say so. In all fairness he thinks France, whose financial condition is much worse than Germany's, should receive at least as much consideration as the latter, and this he believes is not the opinion of certain elements in England and the United States.

April 23. There can no longer be any doubt that Germany is doing her utmost to maintain a force vastly superior to that laid down in the treaty; it is a question whether the militarists are not out of hand and stronger than the Government. Every day I am more impressed with the virility of Germany and her great capacity to rehabilitate herself. Lloyd George and Millerand have agreed on the sum that Germany must pay in reparations, and England will actively support France in having Germany carry out all the provisions of the treaty. No wiser or more just provision could be made for Germany than to let her know definitely what sum she must pay.

April 26. Colonel Hess, Professor of Economics at the University of Wisconsin, is here to look into the question of payment by Germany of our troops, and the economic conditions in this country. I suspect the Administration became somewhat alarmed when Representative Kahn stated in the House that the Germans are not paying for the maintenance of American soldiers in the occupied territory. While that is true, it is not wholly the fault of the Germans, who have furnished money whenever demanded, but it is due recently to the fact that our large sales in marks have given us so much paper money that it could not be disposed of otherwise than by payment of troops.

The history of the 90th Division has just arrived, and I am very much pleased with the clear, simple narrative

of the division's exploits, entirely free from bombast or fine writing. Major Wythe merits great credit for this production.

April 27. General Degoutte passed through here to-day with a dining-car attached to his train to avoid taking his officers to German hotels. He expressed apprehension relative to the troubles imminent in France. He feels sure that the Germans will never disarm in accordance with the treaty, and that within thirty years they will again attack France. Without openly advocating the detachment of states or territories from Prussian control, he is a protagonist of the Napoleonic policy of dividing Germany into small states.

The San Remo Conference has ended after having made certain adjustments in the Turkish Treaty, and after deciding to make Germany comply with the treaty and bring her national forces, the Reichswehr, down to 100,000, while permitting an increase of her police forces. It is now understood that France will leave the Frankfurt area when the Germans comply in the Ruhr and that she will not again act independently.

April 28. I am sending Flint down to Hungary to purchase ten or twelve big blooded horses that might help us out in cross-country and horse-show competitions, and that may be sold to officers. Our Associates are crowding us in equine sports.

Noyes showed me a cable, sent through the State Department for the President, whom he strongly advises to have the treaty ratified, regardless of reservations, lest the United States be not in a position to save Europe from the impending cataclysm. It would truly be worth something to see the President when he reads this cablegram if the State Department is bold enough to send it over to the White House. That I told Noyes.

April 29. Colonel Young in charge of vocational training has given me a full report on his work which I find is rounding up satisfactorily with already more than one thousand students in the various schools.

An inspection of the disciplinary barracks shows excellent work being done there toward making soldiers of those delinquents. It is, indeed, rare when a man is returned to this institution for a second treatment.

May 1. Judge Wadhams and Mr. and Mrs. Hay in one group, and Messrs. Dulles and Haskell in another, arrived to-day. I gave in marriage at the Palace chapel the Countess Bjorkdom to Captain Nicholson of the cavalry.

May 3. Dulles and Haskell were here for luncheon to-day. Evidently, from what the former says, he and Dresel have discussed the advisability of a more intimate participation by me in the affairs of the Rhineland High Commission. I told him that such a move would be unwise as to policy; it would be inconsistent for the United States to put a soldier on this civil tribunal for the creation of which President Wilson was responsible.

May 4. A telegram from Washington informs me that my total of 810 officers must be cut down as far as practicable, especially with respect to staff and auxiliary services, such as the railway and water commissions.

It is always a surprise that so little is heard of bringing the troops back from Germany; perhaps a special reason is that no complaint is made by them to members of Congress.

Rather than try by military commission a German who had killed one of my soldiers, I am turning him over to a German court. The sentence would doubtless be death and would have to go to the President; hence my decision to make this experiment with the German court. This case will serve as a guide for the future. Should indications cause me to believe that the court is not going to mete out justice, right is reserved to suspend the proceedings and give the case to a military commission.

May 6. Von Wiegand sent us his interview with Ludendorff and Colonel Bauer, and Ludendorff's article contributed to the Hearst papers. These communications are very enlightening and show that the Kaiser's delays and possible want of good judgment, if not of sanity, were

called in question before the spring of 1918 by certain of his officers. They also indicate that there can be no monarchical government in Germany at the present time. While Ludendorff says he is going back to Berlin, I doubt very much whether he will be permitted there now.

I am cutting down my force of officers from 810 to 720.

As I write, a nightingale is singing beautifully in the garden — the first time I have heard one making music that could vie with the song of the canary.

May 7. General Michel, with his chief of staff, aide, and American liaison officer, Williamson, arrived about noon at my headquarters, where the Belgian High Commissioner, his deputy, and Colonel Matthieu, of the High Commission, had already arrived. We proceeded to the Clemens Platz in automobile, where I was decorated with the Belgian Croix de Guerre, and Colonel Matthieu with the Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold.

May 8. General Degoutte arrived this morning. I think he feels the impotency of France compared with Germany. He also knows that his country cannot compete with either England or the United States for trade. He freely admits that France is afraid of Germany, and, conservative though he is, says that, if Germany does not deliver the coal due France, it should be taken forcibly. He also says that France cannot afford a big army because it costs too much money and because all her man-power is needed on the land and in the industries.

May 10. Our Sales Commissary has the appearance of a very clean, first-class business establishment and through its agency my officers can be well dressed at less than half what it would cost in London or Paris. They can order here either the completed uniforms or the cloth to be made up by German tailors.

We are sending back to the United States American citizens of Polish extraction who have been serving in the Polish Army, just as we are sending back from Siberia the Czecho-Slovaks to their native heath. Our Commissioner

at Trieste wires me that the train service from there is so poor that it would be better to land these Czecho-Slovaks at Hamburg and send them by rail direct, but the German authorities object to having them pass through their land. Again we find another example of European vindictiveness and selfishness. Another will shortly be shown when insistence is made at Spa on progressive annuities instead of a fixed payment.

May 11. I am now reading Hindenburg's "Aus Meinem Leben," which offers marked contrast in style to Ludendorff's book. These two publications show conclusively the great difference between the strength of character of the two writers. Ludendorff's book leaves the impression of a very virile, ambitious man, while Hindenburg's shows him to be a faithful and earnest agent of his Kaiser. These two officers are now at outs, apparently due to the differences of opinion concerning the von Kapp *coup d'état*.

May 12. The Poles, running true to form, are now in Kieff, where they will remain only until Russia decides to drive them back. In the mean time King George has congratulated "Marshal" Pilsudski on his achievements.

Tirard very generously sent me three hundred francs as a contribution to the monument fund now being raised in the United States for the 1st Division.

May 14. Yesterday was Ascension Day; all business houses were closed and the people were promenading and singing everywhere.

This afternoon I went trout fishing with Sir Harold Stuart and two English officers up the Sayn Brook. Colonel Ryan was the only successful fisherman, and his catch consisted of twelve trout, one grayling, and a chub.

May 16. The French and Belgian troops in the Frankfurt area will be withdrawn to-morrow, and the 11th and 13th Divisions will be started back to France. That will help in the accomplishment of an economic agreement between France and Germany.

A long personal letter from Secretary Baker this morning sets forth the Administration apprehension concerning

the American troops in this zone. There is always fear lest their presence here may involve us again in military operations in Europe. He asked me to write him my estimate of conditions in the occupied territory as to morale and rehabilitation.

CHAPTER VI

WITH THE RHINELAND HIGH COMMISSION

State Department appoints me to unexpected post — The retirement of Mr. Noyes — General Morland, commander of British forces on the Rhine — Ludendorff prefers coalition between Russia, Germany, and the United States — German nun relies upon American generosity — News from the Republican National Convention in Chicago — General March inspects American troops — My first interview with German officials — Square-deal policy is outlined — Collection bags are passed at French wedding — In the Kaiser's former palace — Commander Eva Booth — French make unusual request — "A two-thousand-year war" — Fourth of July in Paris — Barbaric dancing — Coal question settled at Spa.

May 19, 1920. Much to my surprise, word came to-day from Washington appointing me as the American observer on the Rhineland High Commission, in place of Mr. Noyes. This is an event that I thought our State Department would never have approved.

When Mr. Dulles asked my opinion as to this, I told him frankly it would probably be very undesirable to put a military man in that position and that I would not recommend such a step, even if Mr. Noyes were down and out. This move must be considered flattering to my administration here; but it is hoped that results will justify the decision of the State Department. I cannot fail to think that it is somewhat inconsistent to put a military man on this civil commission preëminently created to moderate the actions of military chiefs in the Rhineland. It is very probable that Mr. Noyes's departure will be an official relief for his colleagues, with whom he has not collaborated fairly, as they say; but probably each one of them recognizes in him an idealist who wants to do the proper thing all the while and who is in many ways a very estimable man.

May 20. A telegram from Colonel Drake, Chairman of the Committee on Memorial Day at Paris, strongly appeals to me to make the address at Romagne. After having declined thus far, I have at last about decided to consent.

It is preferable to speak at the graves of those fallen in battle, and above all at my old battle post of command.

Mr. Noyes came back from London to-day. He and Mr. Day came to me to talk over the State Department cable, the motive for which he does not know. His great solicitude seems to be the financial phase of the transfer. He sees in his relief some radical change of policy which foreshadows the early return of American troops here. Although he recently told me that nothing would please him better than to be ordered home, he is not only not pleased at his orders, but is greatly surprised. He proposed, in giving publication of his relief, to say that the Government has decided not to have any representation on the Commission. When I told him the cablegram proposed that my status on the Commission would be identical with his own, he seemed to reconsider. It would be easy to say that business interests demand his presence at home, as he has often told me, but he thinks that does not exactly suit the situation. He made three or four drafts of telegrams to the State Department which I advised him not to send. He is intelligent, upright, and desirous of doing just and philanthropic deeds, but is not familiar with the demands of diplomacy nor deeply grounded in European history. In calling on Sir Harold this morning before he started on a short leave, I told him in confidence of the change, and he wanted to know whether Noyes's "sermon" to the President (referring to his recent long cable) was responsible for his relief.

May 22. My instructions from the War Department have arrived and are largely the same as those Mr. Noyes received from the State Department, and are quite as general. They simply say we will probably not have a *delegate* on the High Commission, and that I will relieve Mr. Noyes as *observer*, substituting my staff for his. The scored words are new from the State Department, so Mr. Noyes says.

Marshal Pétain arrived at six o'clock, and went straight to M. Tirard's, but slept in his car. General Degoutte is

here at the house; Generals Morland and Michel were at the Tirard dinner.

May 25. General Morland and daughter with their house guest have come down for the day and night. He commanded a corps throughout the war and is left in command of the British forces on the Rhine. He does not seem to be deeply interested in political matters, nor does he play a good game of bridge, but he is a sterling, British character, and rated a high-class soldier.

May 27. The visitors this morning were numerous, including the French artist Carré, who wants to sketch my portrait and also to set up a studio here. General and Mrs. Noble of the Medical Corps, Mrs. Gorgas, and Colonel Bruns dined here. General Mordacq stopped to ask for a car to rescue some of his family stranded on the road near Andernach, *en route* to Wiesbaden.

Reports from Washington suggest that Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, are much at outs with the President as well as with the Chief of Staff, whom they do not want made a lieutenant-general. The Democrats seem to hearken to the President only because he is the head of their party.

May 29. With J. and Sumner I left Coblenz at eight o'clock for Romagne, which we reached at 5 P.M. We carried our lunch and ate it on the roadside. Arrived at our destination and having deposited our baggage with Mrs. Crump at the Hostess House on the site of the cemetery of 21,350 fallen soldiers, we started out to see the Freya Stellung, including Andevannes, Villers-devant-Dun, and of course Bantheville and Aincreville. My dug-out, constructed under an embankment in Romagne of elephant iron, was locked up and is now used for storage. This visit to my post of command during our assault on the Freya Stellung recalls many battle experiences of November, 1918. My P.C. at Villers-devant-Dun is now occupied by the owners, and is just as filthy as it was when we found it in '18. The luxuriant growth of vegetation has so greatly changed the appearance of the country within

two years that the vast number of shell holes between Andevannes and Romagne artillery is scarcely noticeable. The cemetery is extraordinarily beautiful, with its fine landscape gardening and the big American and French flags so arranged in its center as to form a background for the platform for the ceremonies to-morrow. This sleepy little war-weary village seems to be wide awake for the occasion.

Memorial Day, May 30, 1920. We started out this morning to see Cunel, its front, the Madeleine farm, Nantillois, Cuissy, and Montfaucon, all of which have left an indelible impression on my mind from war experiences connected with them. It is most interesting, indeed, to visit again these largely destroyed and historic places. I went down the dugout on Madeleine farm which was still in more or less good condition, but mine at Cuissy had fallen in, and the church ruins there, reinforced by us with steel girders and used as a mess, were about as we left them. The church also seems to be used for storage purposes and is locked. Montfaucon has a sort of hotel for tourists and a war souvenir shop, though no work has been done toward its restoration. The Hostess House is situated on the spot where some of my troops were dug in, the day before the jump-off of November 1, 1918.

By two o'clock many hundred villagers had arrived, and also the 6th Corps commander, Duport, from Châlons, the Deputy Préfet from Montmédy, and various officers, clergy, and village mayors. While I was supposed to deliver *the* address, there were five or six speakers and a French band with a company of French troops. My speech was prefaced with remarks in French.

June 1. My Belgian liaison officer, Baron Seelys-Longchamps, called this morning to say good-bye and to present his successor, Captain Moreau. I sat for a while to M. Carré, the French artist who is making a crayon portrait of me. Later I called on M. Rolin-Jaequemyns to pay him my respects in my new capacity as "High Observer" of the Rhineland High Commission. He seems to be glad to welcome me to the sessions of the Commission.

June 2. I went by appointment to see M. Tirard, who seemed pleased, although admitting that certain little inconveniences might arise by reason of my being a quasi-High Commissioner and military commander at the same time. He spoke at length of Mr. Noyes, whom he characterized as "un brave homme." He emphasized the importance of maintaining American troops on the Rhine and said that M. Millerand a few days ago expressed the same opinion. I have decided to keep the civilian representatives in the various Kreise, relieving all military men except those necessary for provost courts. That does not meet the approval of my advisers, but will prevent our administration appearing too military and will be largely in conformity with what is done in the other zones. I have worked out a schedule for the Chief of Staff, General March, on his arrival, as far as it may be done now.

June 3. It is certainly an unusual situation, that created by our Government, in putting me on a purely civil commission. My best efforts will be exerted to have the Commissioners recognize the fact that it is my earnest desire to see team-work.

I have had a conference with Hess, Rucker, and Sommervell (who is my G–4), in connection with the plan for determining the cost of our forces in Germany, which at present is reckoned on a per diem of $9 plus for officers and $3 plus for soldiers.

I have arranged to visit the Commission building daily and also to have Stone come over to see me once a day.

June 6. After going to the stables this morning, I went to my office at the Praesidium, but was too early to find any one there. That must be changed.

June 7. The programme of inspection arranged for General March will probably be more than he wants. Tirard, as well as the army commanders in each zone, have expressed a desire to entertain him, and Rolin-Jaequemyns has already included him in an invitation for dinner Thursday.

Herr von Starck, the Reichskommissar, has indicated his

wish to see me, but thus far there has been no reason for direct personal dealings with any German official.

Sister Mary Elisabeth, of the Arenberg Convent in our bridgehead, came in asking assistance to help her out of her financial dilemma. She left satisfied, but when I told her that we are still at war with Germany and asked why she had, under these conditions, come to us for help, she merely smiled and said she knew we would be generous.

Tirard asked Princess Radziwill up for the *Barbier de Seville* to-day, but asked me if I could accommodate her in my house, which was gladly done. We attended this play by French actors at the Stadt Theater. These performances are the result of a move by which the French hope to impress the Germans by their culture; they may eventually have some value, but at present few German nationals attend.

June 8. General Ruoquoy, the new commander of the Belgian Army on the Rhine, called, though it had been agreed with Rolin that he should make his official visit on me at a later date.

The German elections will, it is now known, give a coalition Government, following largely the line of the present Government.

June 9. The reported retirement of General Pershing to permit him to "occupy a broader field of activity" is confirmed by General March, who arrived to-day. The latter has decided not to go out to the Philippines, but will return home directly from Europe in order to supervise the execution of parts of the new reorganization bill. He says that the board organized to pass on emergency officers for the regular establishment is composed of Pershing, Liggett, Bullard, Dickman, and Summerall. While he seems impressed by the guard of honor turned out for him, it is evident that he is not going to overdo his praise, and it is also evident that from reports that have reached him he anticipated finding high standards here. Had we accepted the Armenian mandate, he says he intended recommending sending me there with my entire force and another division

from the United States. While that would have been a very flattering detail, I am truly glad that our participation in such a mandate went no further.

June 10. All the troops of this command were inspected and reviewed to-day on the Weissenthurm field by General March, who stated: "The Composite Regiment that paraded in Washington had nothing on your men." The improvement continues in these forces and many flattering remarks are made concerning them. I had in all the chiefs of sections and services this morning and presented them to March; then we inspected all the offices of the several generals in the headquarters building. In addition to General March and his two staff officers, Browne and Milliken, I had General Greindl and Coleman for lunch.

Rolin-Jaequemyns gave a dinner attended by the Belgians, Tirard, General March, the Robertsons, the Rousselliers, and various Americans. March seems to be thawing out, and said to me: "The Belgians, French, and English all speak in the highest terms of you, and I am going to tell Baker." He also told me that, if he had assurances that the troops would remain any longer here, he would have some aviation sent over. He says that, once the organization scheme is put into effect, officers and men will be relieved here after two years' service. I believe he reckons on continuing as Chief of Staff until the inauguration of the new President. He says in case General Wood is elected, he picks me for Chief of Staff. Wood seems to be holding his own at the Convention, though I suspect he must go down eventually. However, I know too little about the political situation in the United States to have an opinion.

June 11. This day has been largely dedicated to the entertainment of the Chief of Staff. We left at 8.40 for Mainz, going to General Degoutte's headquarters. In addition to the guard of honor, there was a review of the entire Mainz garrison. General Degoutte put his best foot forward, and his troops never looked better. Lunch was served in the Grand Ducal Palace. We went aboard my

"yacht," at Bingen, which I had sent up from Coblenz. There were about sixty or seventy people invited on the *Preussen* to meet General March. General Degoutte was most gracious and cordial, as usual. I had a dinner party here for March to-night.

June 12. We started out early to inspect the bridgehead and to witness some combat firing at the Herschbach range. In the afternoon a small horse-show and jumping contest was staged for the Chief of Staff, followed by a match game of polo, and tea at the Clubhouse. In showing General March all of the activities of the A.F.G., a boxing contest could not be left out and this was staged on the Clemens Platz. Our men won against three Britishers and one Frenchman.

March is conscientiously carrying out every detail of the full programme I laid out for him. Again to-day he mentioned the Composite Regiment of the A.E.F. which paraded in the United States, and which he claimed was the finest body of troops he had ever seen, but again added immediately, "They had nothing on you," referring to some troops that he saw to-day.

Our Military Attaché in Berlin, Colonel Davis, has arrived here for a conference with General March, and we three were together most of the morning. Colonel Davis brought the latest report of the Control Board, which gives a good estimate of the situation in Germany as to disarmament. Ludendorff is in Berlin, thus showing that the Government is not keenly interested in his punishment for participation in the Kapp *Putsch*. The proposition put forward by General Ludendorff was discussed in detail. He thinks there are three big coalitions that may be possible. First, Japan, Russia, Germany; second, Russia, Germany, England; and third, Russia, Germany, and the United States. Of these three he prefers the last.

The most important piece of news of the day is the simple announcement by wire that Harding had been selected at Chicago as the standard-bearer. I should say that his chances of being elected are most excellent. March

informed me that my emergency rank would be made regular, to date from July 1st, thus preventing any real change of rank so far as I am concerned.

June 14. Exercises on the aerodrome field this morning for General March included the infantry, cavalry, artillery, and wagon transport. Then followed in turn an inspection of the disciplinary barracks — an exceptionally well-maintained institution; of the work connected with the removal of the 600 or 700 bodies from the cemetery, and the barracks of the 3d battalion of the 8th Infantry. We dined with M. Tirard, who had a dance with buffet supper afterwards.

June 15. We went this morning to the range below Weissenthurm, stopping at the tomb of Hoche, the commander of the Army of the Sambre et Meuse. At the range there was a contest between the automatic, on the one side, and six rifles on the other. For the first time in these experiments the rifles won in the contest by firing sixty shots to the minute. In a word, six good riflemen are about the equivalent, under certain conditions, of one automatic. We watched at Andernach some bayonet training, close order drill, and calisthenics. To Mayen to inspect the schools, thence to the artillery, all of which were inspected.

June 16. General March finished his inspection of welfare work and the machine-gunners at Ehrenbreitstein late yesterday afternoon, and all of us went up to partake of the hospitality of the latter at the big dinner dance in their casemate club. To-day, with his two staff officers and Sommervell, he went to see the Belgian commander-in-chief at Aix-la-Chapelle; thence to Cologne to visit the British commander-in-chief; and returned to-night. I decided not to go, because it would be better for my colleagues not to be bothered with me and because I had work here. When Chamberlain, the inspector-general, arrives, he will have much of the edge taken off his work by the reason of the very thorough inspection now being made by the Chief of Staff.

Have directed Stone and Bagby to prepare a weekly

cable to be sent to the Secretary of State over my signature giving activities of the High Commission during the week, a special statement as to conditions in the occupied territory, and a general estimate of the situation in Germany.

June 17. It develops that the Supreme Council asked the State Department for its views with respect to the reduction of Germany's war strength; it in turn asked the War Department for recommendation; it cabled March, who finally asked me. Based on my recommendation he replied by cable to-night.

The artillery battalion presented a firing problem this morning for the Chief of Staff near Sofig; later he inspected the ordnance and quartermaster storehouses, for which he had only praise. As Sir Harold has hurt his leg at tennis, he was obliged to call off his dinner party, thus giving the artillery an opportunity to entertain March at the Club.

Apparently Herr Mayer is going to succeed in forming a cabinet, but it will not be very strong. If relations between France and England are not kept on a more stable basis, it will not be a surprise to hear of a *rapprochement* between France and Germany. While this is not desired by either side, stranger things have happened in international matters.

June 19. With J. and Sumner I arrived in Cologne promptly at the designated hour, 12.30, at General Morland's personal headquarters and found the band of the Black Watch with a small guard of honor from the same regiment to meet me. These Highland uniforms are something marvelous in their gaudiness. General and Lady Wake are house guests, and General Morland, his two daughters, and the entire household, are keenly interested in the races. A polo scurry began the programme, which, in spite of the thunderstorm, was continued by flat races and steeplechases at the fine German race-course.

We had a fine dinner, which included General and Lady Kitty Vincent, General and Lady Kennedy, and the Chaplain-General of the army. The latter is keenly interested in learning our policies at Coblenz in connection with the

venereal question. During the meal the pipers of the Black Watch marched twice around the table in their barbaric rôle, but no one may say that such a practice is without interest.

June 21. This morning I had my first interview with German officials. The Reichskommissar, von Starck, his assistant, von Brandt, and von Bernsdorff, nephew of the former Ambassador to the United States, came in to make an official visit. The conversation lasted about forty minutes. Von Starck spoke English, but not especially fluently; he presumed I would follow Mr. Noyes's views, but I denied any intention of following Noyes's policies because they were his. It was evident that he had got much comfort from them, and I suspect some courage to resist the demands of the Commission. I simply informed him that under the circumstances it was time to strive for peace and moral calm, and that my policy would at all times be for a square deal. He was surprised to learn that I would sit with the Commission, for Noyes's article in the *Amaroc News* had left a different impression. It now turns out that Noyes did not want a military adviser in Stone, but some one who would keep him out of trouble with my G–4. Laughingly he told Stone: "I think General Allen will be pretty mad when he learns I have put four cars out of commission." As they were Government cars, and as I had learned that they had been used recklessly, I confess that his statement was correct.

Fehrenbach has succeeded in forming a coalition cabinet with the Democrats, Centrists, and People's Party. The Majority Socialists are to observe a benevolent neutrality, while the parties of the Right and Left will not participate.

June 22. General Ruoquoy left this morning early, after which I went to my Commission headquarters and had a conference with Stone and Davis concerning the agenda of the day; then left for Mayen to pin the D.S.C. on two soldiers of the 50th Infantry, who had formerly belonged to the 7th. I endeavored to make it clear to my assistants and officials at the Commission that there must be team-work

in the High Commission and that outsiders should never know of the differences that may arise there. We lunched with the Rousselliers where Mrs. J. Hamilton Lewis and her traveling companion, Mrs. Jacob Bauer, were present.

June 23. With J. and Sumner I went to Bonn for the marriage in the cathedral of the daughter of the commanding general of the 33d French Corps to his aide. This is the first French wedding I have ever witnessed. All the relations paired off and followed the bride and groom down the aisle to the elevated chancel; the service lasted an hour. Before it was ended, four couples descended from the chancel passing through the assemblage taking contributions, presumably for the poor, but which I think would be very good also for marrying couples; in any event, the money was put into very dainty silk bags carried by each of the collectors. As we were in the front row and first reached, I endeavored to take something out of the bag, thinking it to be perhaps some sort of a small souvenir of the occasion. We also went to the breakfast where there were great numbers of guests, most of whom were seated. The bridal couple, after having been toasted, went around drinking the health of all.

I went as usual this morning to my "High Observer" office and went over the day's agenda with Stone and Davis. For some reason unknown to me, General March, who wanted to supervise the sailing list of the *Northern Pacific*, telegraphed that he did not want certain people recently leaving Coblenz on the ship.

June 24. The State Department asks by cable for the truth concerning reported black atrocities in the occupied French zones.

June 25. A telegram to-day from the Adjutant-General says that my emergency rank of major-general will be made regular July 2d, and that, as I will be a brigadier but one day, advises no change of insignia. I am asking that the same practice be applied to my senior officers.

The welfare workers were given a big reception in the fine palace garden by Chaplain Easterbrook. The garden

was beautifully arranged and there were between 600 and 700 people present. Among the number was Commander Eva Booth, of the Salvation Army. The palace was opened and dancing indulged in in the superb ballroom. Never before had I seen the interior of the palace nor the grounds, and I confess they greatly exceeded my estimate of them. The Kaiser occupied this palace for about one month at the outbreak of the war. Tirard has asked me for these vast gardens in addition to those properly belonging to the Praesidium. That request is to me incomprehensible, and I do not feel disposed to give them to him unless there be some exceptional reasons which are not now apparent.

The American school of about forty pupils had very creditable exercises at the close of the session, in the garden of the A.L.A. I made a short talk and distributed the certificates.

June 26. In the weekly summary to the Secretary of State, the most important item was the statement of both von Starck and von Groening that they hoped the American troops would remain on the Rhine as long as any troops were kept here.

At polo this afternoon in the last period, a ball struck me on the chin breaking off a tooth just behind the lower right incisor. Two stitches were required in dressing my chin.

We had Commander Eva Booth with her two accompanying brigadiers and our local one, Bourne, at dinner. She is a most intelligent, estimable, and capable woman. I noticed that neither she nor any of her officers touched wine. In my house only light wines are served, and in that practice it is unlike the houses of the Commissioners, and possibly some of my officers.

June 27. At the Fest Halle I presented Commander Booth. She made quite a remarkable, impassioned address that took well with the soldiers and was really, by reason of her earnestness, a severe strain on her not too robust health. With my disfigured face, due mainly to the dressing on it, and because of a desire to be here for our own

Fourth of July, I am having difficulty in persuading myself that my presence is more important in Paris than here.

June 28. From the stables I went early to the hospital to have the chin wound redressed. The stitches were taken out and gauze with collodion put on.

Roussellier called at my headquarters again with respect to getting *all* the castle garden for M. Tirard. I told him the request amazed me beyond measure, and that if it were a matter for the welfare of France I would do it: but my opinion is that even the dignity of the Presidency of the High Commission does not demand so much. In fact the attitude exhibited causes me much chagrin.

Dr. Appelmann says the Germans are much concerned over the report that though they are invited to Spa they are not to be given an opportunity to speak in the Conference. I called on the British Commissioner, whose leg still causes him to limp. He informed me of a conversation with von Starck, who said that they have been at war with the French for one thousand years and will fight them another thousand.

June 30. I turned out a battalion for General O'Ryan on the Clemens Platz. He is a forceful character. His mission is going to carry him on to Berlin, but just what he can find in connection with the marking of the graves of the 27th Division by going there I do not know.

My polo team in England won the finals in the Novice Championship; it has thus won eight games out of twelve and tied in another.

A letter from General Degoutte informs me that July 5th, the 4th falling on Sunday, will be a holiday for the French troops on the Rhine; that all military establishments will be decorated with the flags of both countries; and that he will come down personally to congratulate the American troops and their chief. This marked consideration is most highly appreciated, and I endeavored to let him feel that this sentiment was fully reciprocated by all of us. The Adjutant-General of the British Army, McDonough, Lieutenant-General Radcliffe, and General

Hutchison lunched here to-day with Sladen, Biddle, Montgomery, and Chamberlain. They like my band of seventy-five pieces. A number of us went out for tea at the palace of the Prince of Wied at Neuwied, on the invitation of our Kreis officials, Majors Lammons and Jameson who are billeted there. The Prince, the Princess, and their two boys continue to live in this palace.

Paul Cravath arrived here to-day *en route* to Berlin, and seemed to be keenly interested in what our representation here is accomplishing. Just what his rôle is was not divulged, though it is possible that it is connected with economic questions in the interest of a very large New York corporation.

July 3. On arriving in Paris early this morning with Sumner, we went directly to Mott's apartment, 27 rue de la Pérouse, where I am stopping. At the Embassy this morning Mr. Wallace was almost in distress over the many requirements made on him at this time, especially in the way of speeches.

My polo team met me here and told of their success in England, but of their defeat yesterday at Bagatelle, where they were supposed to play a French team. It was composed of three very strong English players and only one Frenchman. Later in the afternoon I accompanied the Ambassador to the ceremony connected with the presentation of a wreath by representatives from Alsace-Lorraine, at the foot of the equestrian statue of Washington near the Embassy in the Place d'Iéna. Speeches were made, cameras were numerous, and troops passed in review — all in a rain.

At the banquet to-night at the Hôtel Quai d'Orsay, I escorted out Marshal Joffre and sat between him and ex-Ambassador Herrick. Berry made a long speech in French, which was much applauded when he pricked pins in Germany. Mr. Wallace followed with a set speech; then came my short set speech with a small preface; then followed Mr. Herrick, Marshal Foch, the French Minister of Public Instruction, and Colonel Drake. The magnificent

hall had about three hundred and fifty guests, and as there was very little ventilation the heat was most disagreeable. After the banquet a ball was given by Colonel and Mrs. Harjes, where I remained until two o'clock, but it continued until seven, when breakfast was served. There I met Duke de Caze, President of the Polo Club, to whom I expressed regret that only one Frenchman, Edouard de Rothschild, had played on the French team. He seemed to be somewhat ashamed over this affair, and in his apology stated that they were fearful lest they be unable to find a team that could successfully combat with ours. The ball was very brilliant, but some of the jazz and shimmy dancing seemed atrociously barbaric. The prettiest woman there was one of the Rothschilds, whose father and mother are both reported very ugly. A prominent American, in speaking of Bainbridge Colby in connection with the latter's statement that the President could be nominated by acclamation, said he was an Ananias; and almost in the same connection told me jokingly that the Presidents for many years had been his friends and that every one of them was entitled to membership in the Ananias Club.

July 4. This afternoon we went out to St.-Cloud to see the great race, Le Grand Prix du Président de la République, valued at 125,000 francs.

July 5. On arrival back at Coblenz I found the British flotilla of four gunboats which had come up the river to help us celebrate the 4th of July. Douglas Fairbanks and Mary are here, creating much interest amongst the troops. They were both present at the baseball match and at the six bouts of boxing between our men and the French and the English. In the evening a large number were invited to the Coblenzerhof to see the fireworks, exhibited from Ehrenbreitstein. The exhibition was remarkably well staged. The fireworks were not only shown in great quantities, but they showed in the end the entire rock and buildings as being on fire. This was probably the greatest display of fireworks that has been staged in Coblenz since our arrival here. There has been throughout the day and even-

ing an exceptional Fourth-of-July spirit. A drum and fife corps dressed in Continental costume paraded the streets literally packed with Germans in the vicinity of the hotel.

July 6. Sir Harold sent his and Lady Stuart's excuses for not appearing at the fireworks last night: the over-zealous M.P.'s would not let his automobile pass. I assured him that there was no grudge against him as a Britisher on this occasion, and that the absence of both of them was deeply regretted.

July 8. The Spa Conference continues acute, but I am hoping that terms reasonable for the welfare of Europe will be adopted and under them Germany will be gradually rehabilitated. To cut Germany's armed force down too low or make the reparation too great is playing with fire. Even orderly disciplined Germany may in despair follow in a lesser degree the fate of Russia.

Inspector-General Chamberlain, after his inspection and review of the 1st Brigade, stated: "It is the most magnificent bunch of soldiers I have ever inspected." I had not expected as much from him.

The Spanish Minister in Berlin, Delgado, arrived in time for dinner with his brother, bearing a letter from Mr. Dresel. I had the Stuarts, Montgomerys, and Mr. Cooper to meet them. Señor Delgado is very communicative with regard to his views bearing on Germany, and expressed the thought that a force of 100,000 would not suffice for the requirements of that country under present conditions. During the war he occupied our Embassy building at Berlin and was charged with our affairs.

Unfortunate Poland is again undergoing a crisis and troops sent into Ukrainia as far as Kieff are now being chased back by the Soviet forces. Poland may have to throw herself on the mercy of Russia or may have to get succor from Germany unless the Allies come to her relief.

July 14. On arrival at Wiesbaden this morning to congratulate General Mordacq, I was hoping to surprise him, but he was fully prepared and had troops out with a mass of French people behind them to render military honors

and give me cordial applause and greeting. From there we went over to Mainz, where General Degoutte was much pleased that I should have given myself the trouble to make the journey to congratulate him and his troops in behalf of mine on the day. Amongst the seventeen officers that he decorated to-day were my chief of staff, Montgomery, and my liaison officer, Coleman. Both received the Officier de la Légion d'Honneur. General Degoutte was intending to go to Paris to-night, but has been instructed to hold himself in readiness to go to Spa on account of the deadlock on coal. Whether the Germans are bluffing, whether the Allies are asking too many tons of coal per month, or whether the Germans want a show of compulsion that they may save their face, I do not know.

July 15. The coal question at Spa seems to have been settled by the Germans agreeing to the two million tons per month. The reparations question was given to a committee of two each from the interested nations including Germany, instead of giving it to the Reparations Commission. It is believed that certain foodstuffs and coal from Teschen were involved in the transaction. In spite of the crisis, neither the mark nor the German industrial shares have dropped appreciably.

In reply to my letter General Degoutte sent me a most cordial and deeply sympathetic telegram to-day following his departure for Spa. The French are most responsive to our advances and appreciative of our courtesy. I learned to-day that the British Government contemplates giving me a decoration, but there were no details as to what it will be or when it will take place.

July 17. *Paris.* In calling at the Embassy, I found that the Ambassador was absent at the Council of Ambassadors. Mott knows only vaguely of the programme for tomorrow, so I went around to see Count Jean de Castellane, charged with the ceremonies. The principal figures to be present are Millerand, Marshal Pétain, the Queen of Roumania, our Ambassador, and also two Cabinet Ministers. I am expected to say "two words"; as a matter of

fact, my remarks in French will consume just about five minutes.

After luncheon I had a talk with de Cartier, Belgian Ambassador to Washington, and the Ridgeley Carters.

July 18. We arrived at the Pershing Stadium at 2 P.M. and were received by Count Castellane and the mayor of the city. The finals for the Olympiad were decided to-day and preceded the unveiling of the bronze tablet. There was a comprehensive programme of light calisthenics by men and girls, and afterwards a grand dance on the green of the enclosure by about one hundred barelegged girls. These graceful exercises seemed to me to have no place in such a sport exhibition as was staged at the Stadium, and it seems an erroneous conception, on the part of the management, of the rôle that sport should play in developing brawn and vigor in a nation. This barelegged exhibition depicts a national characteristic which is racial and which differentiates the Latin people from the Anglo-Saxon.

Marshal Pétain arrived about 2.30, and the Queen of Roumania, good-looking as all her pictures indicate, at about three. Several ambassadors also came, including ours, who had just arrived from the ceremony at Château-Thierry. The track events were good. Castellane was throughout a very busy little man. At the unveiling of the plaque, the last event of the day, the Marshal conducted the Queen to the enclosed place outside of the amphitheater, where only a few were permitted. At the last moment it was decided that only Mr. Davis of the Y.M.C.A. and the mayor should make remarks. The Ambassador and I were presented to the Queen just prior to the unveiling of the tablet.

July 20. The tank maneuver with the battalion of infantry and its machine guns took place on our steeplechase grounds this morning, and was a decided success. Colonel Heller was in immediate charge, but General d'Anselme and another French general were present. This exercise showed how the French use this weapon as a result of their war experience.

General Degoutte came down to see me at 6.30 this afternoon, primarily to show the plans connected with such action as might be necessary in case of non-compliance with the terms just arranged at Spa. As he knows full well that these forces would not participate in any forward movement, nothing could demonstrate more fully his consideration for me than this act.

We had a dinner party to-night especially for Mrs. Susie Champion Bradley and her daughter, my godchild, whom I had not seen since she was a very young baby, about thirty-five years ago.

Tirard asked me for dinner to-night with General Degoutte, and, being unable to accept, I went over after dinner, even before our guests had gone. I am always amazed at the great fear manifested by Degoutte lest Germany come back soon, and the evident feeling that now is the time for France to secure her ascendancy, without realizing that a real peace status should be the primary goal of all.

July 22. The Russians decline to halt their advance as desired by England and France, and the plight of the Polish armies seems dreadful. We are prepared to bring the Americans away from Warsaw via Danzig on the *Pocahontas*. This whole Polish story since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles is a tragedy, and I can see nothing ahead in the near future other than unrest and disaster for that buffer state so much desired by France and for which Mr. Wilson was a sponsor.

In accordance with engagement, I went over with Colonel Thompson to the artillery compound to help select horses that might have chances against the Allies in the coming horse-show, especially against our strongest competitors, the British. The four boys of the Thompson party lunched with us to-day. In the new list of promotions, McAndrews and Hines appear ahead of me. Colonel Thompson seems to be very desirous that I should be the next Chief of Staff, but that is a long reach, depending upon the coming Administration. This afternoon in the

Gerichtsamt I made a formal talk to the military attachés in which the importance of "soldier diplomats" being first of all soldiers was emphasized.

July 27. The custodian of the German State Property says he will provide funds for the personnel on the Commission, and also compensate the expenditure of $120,000 used in maintaining the American section of the High Commission up to the present. I wired the State Department asking what disposition it desired to be made of this sum, as it was thought it might be used by the Department rather than turned into the Treasury.

CHAPTER VII

DISCIPLINE AND SPORTS

Commanders on carpet for too much drinking — Myron T. Herrick visits us — Walter Damrosch — Poland's terrible tragedy — Hoover's soup kitchens feed German children — Black soldiers compete for beauty prize — Germans are grateful to the United States — General Degoutte's mammoth abode — Olympic games at Antwerp are disappointing — A lobster supper in Brussels — Welcoming Foch — Maneuvers — France profits by American charities — Sir Harold Stuart withdraws from High Commission — Teeth fail to keep pace with civilization — Millerand elected President of France — Predicted German *Putsch* does not materialize — Ninth bride given away — Peace menaced by nations' selfishness — Sitting for a German sculptor — Foch presses French advantages — Allies demand nearly a million German milk cows, while America feeds undernourished German children — Shooting contests — Receiving Harding-Cox election returns — A hunting party — "A league for wrangling" — A Thanksgiving reception — We visit Ambassador Brand Whitlock at Brussels — A visit with the King and Queen of the Belgians — I receive the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

July 28, 1920. I had the brigade and one regimental commander of the 2d Brigade on the carpet this morning for permitting too much drink at the Andernach dances. Although nearly all the senior officers there testify that there was no excessive drinking or disorder, I am of the opinion that their standard is in this respect too low and that the regimental commander would do better elsewhere.

Mr. Herrick, Mademoiselle St. Paul, and Mr. Norton arrived this afternoon and are in the house. They were included in the dinner party given for all the military attachés and their wives at the Club. Mr. Herrick told me to-night of the keen and effective part he had taken in the nomination of Harding by his influence in holding the Ohio delegates until the critical moment for their introduction had arrived.

The Red troops continue to advance in spite of the Allied efforts to effect an armistice, and Ludendorff has stated that American influence will be too late. In this Russian-Polish fighting we see one of the results of the new grouping in Europe as a provision of the Versailles Treaty.

July 29. Mr. Herrick left after luncheon for Wiesbaden via Mainz. Tea was to be served at the latter place by General Degoutte and troops turned out at the former by General Mordacq.

There is much talk of a world revolution. Much of it apparently is to influence the coming conference in Geneva and originates in Germany. Some of the reports now in my hands made by my G–2 agents on East and West Prussia, Upper Silesia, and Danzig, show a remarkable contrast between the efficiency and civilization of the Poles and the Germans, in favor of the latter.

July 20. With Captain Moreau, my liaison officer, and Sumner, I started for Aix-la-Chapelle via Cologne at 9.30, and was met outside of Aix by a squadron of cavalry and conducted into the city, where General Ruoquoy had a battalion of infantry, a battery of artillery, and a company of bicyclists drawn up for inspection and review. These troops presented a very good, field-fit appearance. After this began the lunch, or rather midday dinner, in his house. He goes about comparatively little, since without an escort he might be the target of some irate German. There is much less dislike in the occupied territories toward English and Americans, especially the latter, than toward the French and Belgians; but nothing could be more natural than this. It appears that the Burgermeister was chased out of his office at Aix yesterday and that veterans of the war, probably instigated by Bolsheviks, demanded of the Belgium Chambers a bonus of two thousand francs for each year they had fought in the war; the Deputies dispersed on account of the demonstration made. These are but straws to show the great unrest in the world.

At last an armistice has been arranged and the Soviet Government has stipulated such terms for Poland as would, if accepted, prove almost her deathblow. Certainly England and France will not permit such destructive terms as holding in Poland an occupying force for five years, and the surrender of arms and ammunition with railway rolling stock.

July 31. News from J. says she is well pleased at the Hôtel de la Plage at Ostend, where all is very satisfactory. She says that the use of a first-class bathing machine for a short plunge costs now sixty francs, or about ten times what it used to be. The gentlemen who lunched with us to-day said their sack suits had cost in New York between $125 and $160. Such prices surely cannot continue without great danger to our political system. The world is regaining the normal far too slowly. Certainly our failure to make some sort of treaty is not the least element in maintaining these inflated prices and consequent unrest.

August 1. A very decided difference of opinion is manifested between Sir Harold and Roussellier relative to the dismissal from office of the Regierungspräsident and the director of police at Wiesbaden for the abduction of Dr. Dorten by the Frankfurt police on a warrant issued by the Court of Inquiry of the German Supreme Court at Leipzig. While lunching, Sir Harold came to see me about this matter, and left with me not only his memorandum on the subject, but all his papers in the case. Apparently the French are unable to prove any connivance at, or knowledge of, the offense by the officials, but want summary action nevertheless without due process of law and in violation of an ordinance of the Commission, which says:

> No official will be removed until he shall have had an opportunity to present his defense; definite and specific charges in writing will be served upon an official accused.

August 2. At the session of the High Commission this morning, called specially in connection with the aftermath of the Dorten abduction, the French were somewhat excited and insisted on immediate punishment of the Wiesbaden President and the Chief of Police. A letter to the Reichskommissar, informing him of the permanent removal of those two officials and demanding the delivery of the Frankfurt police for trial by French military courts, was already drafted when the session began. Sir Harold and M. Tirard had a long, heated discussion. I finally sug-

gested that our ordinances demand that, in such cases as this, definite charges in writing must be made in order that the accused might present his defense. This was admitted, and accordingly such charges were drawn up. That eased the first part of the discussion, and, as to the second, it was decided to treat that diplomatically rather than administratively. That demand will therefore be made by the Supreme Council. As this was something of a small crisis, I am glad it ended so well.

Walter D. Hines, with his wife and daughter, and Mr. and Mrs. Claggett, arrived yesterday on the *Preussen* from Strasbourg and called here for luncheon. This boat was lent to him for his inspection on the Rhine. I think the family end is worked too much by American officials, particularly at this time.

Walter Damrosch and party arrived to-day with his family. He is here at my solicitation to help improve the bands of this command.

August 3. It now develops that Tirard received such peremptory instructions from his Government concerning the Dorten affair that he has been put in a dilemma because our ordinances are not in accord with his instructions. We must, therefore, find some way to protect him. I shall bring the matter in writing to our member of the Council of Ambassadors, and I think Sir Harold will do the same. Dr. Damrosch, wife and two daughters, lunched with me, and he heard the headquarters band play in the garden during the meal, and likewise later the 8th Infantry band at polo. His remarks concerning these two bands were helpful and complimentary.

The James Burden party arrived as we were sitting down to dinner and were directed to the Coblenzerhof. Mr. Ivy Lee, who has been in Berlin with Paul D. Cravath, was also here for lunch, but left on the 3 P.M. train for Paris.

The Soviets are still pressing Poland, and, while they are talking of an armistice meeting, they express no intention of ceasing operations. A terrible tragedy is being enacted

in the Polish country. The creation of Poland as a buffer state, supposedly on the principle of self-determination, has proved for the moment a real calamity. This principle is a beautiful dream, theoretically correct, but impracticable in realization. In Silesia, for example, the Wasserpolaks are ethnographically Poles, but speak German and oppose Polish control.

August 4. This morning I visited three of our soup kitchens in each of which about 400 children are fed. We are giving one meal per day to 2400 children in Coblenz and to about 7600 out in the area. The children we saw this morning are evidently undernourished, and the people are very appreciative of this charity work due to the Hoover and Quaker food supply.

August 5. When the Reichskommissar came to see me this morning I endeavored to advise him concerning a rôle more compatible with the interests of all concerned. He seemed very appreciative "of your good advice which I shall follow and will report to my Government what you tell me." He thought that his more recent communications to the Commission had been couched in more diplomatic language. He knows that his stay could be cut short by the Commission, and he expressed the thought that M. Tirard was open in his dealings. I assured him Tirard's position was fully as difficult as his own. He thought that, backed up by the Commission and the High Military Command by which he was largely controlled, Tirard's position was better than his own. He admitted that the carrying off of Dorten was a mistake, but said he could not say so to the Commission because his Government had not authorized it. He mentioned the right of a sovereign state to arrest its nationals anywhere within its limits. Naturally I told him that was untenable in the present case, both politically and diplomatically, even though it might be conceded as a legal right. He spoke of the German people, many of whom at least still felt that their armies had not been defeated and therefore that Germany was not conquered. He deplored the fact that such a condition ex-

isted, for he knew too sadly the contrary. He spoke of the discontent of the people as a result of the Spa Conference, although the German Government had secured a concession by having the 2,400,000 tons of coal per month reduced by 400,000 tons. In a word, Germany now has to reckon with public opinion. He expressed his thanks that I had sent for him and talked thus freely. He hoped American troops would remain on the Rhine as long as any troops were kept here. I made no answer to that. I should call him a rather stiff Prussian, not yet fully awake to the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the Commission and to the danger of losing his own official head. Perhaps my statement to that effect may have value, for he answered that he had everything, bag and baggage here, and he knew that the Commission could have him relieved. In my opinion he is not temperamentally nor by training a good appointment for this post.

The Polish tragedy becomes more serious as the Bolshevik troops approach Warsaw and the proposed armistice fails of realization. Von Simons's utterances and writing, as well as von Hofmann's, show that Germany recognizes the bolshevizing of her people as a possibility. This danger is painful to her, but she gets satisfaction in seeing some of the terms of the Versailles Treaty annulled by the destructive blow at Poland. The Allies, especially France, are greatly disturbed, and in my opinion the world should be. To me this whole Polish affair by its untimely arrival shows a weakness of conference decrees. From an historical viewpoint it is entirely logical and sequential, though somewhat premature. Considering the entire past of man and the warring complexities of the present time, it is extremely amazing that educated people should believe in pacifism. We should preach peace, however, in the earnest effort to eliminate war.

August 6. At 9.30 this morning I had my first conference with the Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, who came to see me in my Commission Office. He was accompanied by his assistant, Dr. von Brandt, and by Dr. Appelmann,

who was formerly an exchange professor at Harvard. I heard more German than for many years. President von Groote is a fine type of an old German official of the best class, dignified and intelligent. He is probably sixty-seven years old and of a benevolent character. He might very well be taken for a well-to-do Englishman or a retired American business man. Dr. von Brandt is swarthy, with a brachycephalic head; he is a man of intelligence, but his appearance would be best described in soldier parlance as a machine-gunner.

The mark has dropped to about forty-four to the dollar, largely due to the Soviet advance on Poland. All kinds of rumors are in circulation as to what will be Germany's attitude, as well as that of France and England, as the situation grows worse. The peace of the world is again threatened and many believe that we are on the eve of another great revolution. Germany is in a position to arrest the western advance of Bolshevism, but apparently she intends to make the Allies pay her well for any such service. She is not disposed to help Poland nor has Poland any real right to claim support from Germany.

August 7. The French are greatly worried over the indirect prestige given Germany by the downfall of Poland. Germany positively refuses to permit ammunition and supplies for Poland to pass through her territory; in the mean time the Polish state created by the treaty, together with a corridor to the sea, is crumbling.

This afternoon we attended the anniversary fête of the 37th Division at Wiesbaden, where General Mordacq and the division commander, General Metz, welcomed us most cordially. This Moroccan division had arranged an Arab village, improvised camels, and carried out an Arabian fantasia. A truly French event was also staged, the beauty prize. The beauty was selected from twelve Algerian and Moroccan soldiers by a committee of French ladies. These men were dolled up to the limit and each had a big number attached to his uniform. Some had their hair passed through their fezzes in some mysterious way and plastered

down over the fez tops. One or more had heavy full beards, and were fantastically dressed. The grouping of French soldiers dressed in brilliant colors on the green, forming various figures, was rather pretty, but not such an event as we would ever stage.

Mordacq said he anticipated a general strike in Wiesbaden, and that just now the Germans are more insolent than ever, and he thinks we are on the verge of a serious crisis. He intimated it would be necessary to put on the screws. Unfortunately, the hatred between the French and Germans seems to grow rather than diminish.

August 9. Strange to say, no alarming news from any quarter has been received to-day.

August 10. This is the opening day of our horse-show. The British beat us in the animal-drawn transport; the French had no entries in those classes. Our greatest success was in the enlisted men's jumping classes where all four ribbons were won. Our house guests, Mrs. Wallace, her niece, Miss Beecher, and Miss Robertson, are enjoying the show. They have found a few friends from Paris here. We had General Le Conte and his daughter and the British chief of staff at Cologne, General Fuller, for luncheon.

August 12. To-day for the first time we beat the British in an artillery exhibit. Neither they nor the French have been able to stand up against us in the jumping classes. H. and Downer won in the double jumping in a remarkable performance over that very difficult course. General Mordacq and his daughter, General and Lady Hutchison, and Consul-General and Mrs. Coffin from Berlin lunched with us. Most of our guests attended the boxing contest in front of the Palace, though the ladies for the most part declined this invitation. Hamilton Holt, editor of *The Independent*, with his two daughters, is also here and very keen to get information concerning Germany. I am interested in his estimate of the presidential candidates, but not proud of it. He considers Root the legal adviser to the Republican Party and Lodge its political adviser. He thinks Wilson is a statesman, but no politician.

August 13. To-day the sweepstakes classes in the animal-drawn transport were remarkable, and, though the British won the greater part, our showing was better than ever before. The third phase of the riding contest, the jumping over the course, showed some exceptional performances. Numerous people, General Henneker among them, pronounced it the best they had ever seen. H. was on a winning team in this as he was in the pair jumping. For luncheon to-day we had General and Madame Degoutte, with her sister, General and Lady Henneker, General and Madame d'Anselme.

France and England are again undergoing an acute *difference* over the former's recognition of General Wrangel. The whole Polish affair from beginning to end means direct trouble to Europe and great inconvenience to us. I cannot but feel that Germany's future is toward the east and that Poland's history reflects on her stability for an independent state. Recently, in talking with a man direct from Warsaw, I remarked that probably there is now in Poland a Lubomirski fighting a Radziwill. His answer was, "Yes, that is exactly what is taking place, as each one is the head of a fighting faction." My thought was based wholly on history and was entirely figurative, for I had not heard anything about these two factions.

August 14. Two members of the German Cabinet are coming here this week and have requested audience with the High Commission. Tirard was first disinclined to receive them because of certain remarks in the Reichstag reflecting on French acts in the occupied territory. Naturally that would have been unwise and illogical, and he was advised by all of us to change his mind, which he did.

August 17. In trying to find out the pay of the High Commissioners and their deputies, difficulties were encountered. The Britisher, Sir Harold, gets £5000, his deputy, £2000; Roussellier says M. Tirard gets 125,000 francs and that he gets 40,000; the Belgians get the latter-named sums.

Every few weeks England and France clash on some European or Near-Eastern matter. Just now France has rec-

ognized Wrangel independently of England, while the latter had advised the Poles to recognize the Soviet Government. The letter of our State Department to the Italian Ambassador defining our policy toward Russia and Poland has given France much satisfaction.

Stone informs me that in this morning's session Tirard stated that he had advised the French military commander to caution his officers to exercise a more conciliatory policy toward the Germans and that orders in the matter had been issued. This is a very wise procedure which should promote the welfare of both countries. Tirard is very optimistic with regard to the European situation. While Germany is profiting by the collapse in Poland, she is using the present conditions to exercise pressure on the coming Geneva Conference. At dinner with Tirard to-night he expressed fear lest there be a coalition between the German Right and Left. In my opinion that could be only for the purpose of utilizing the threat of Bolshevism in an effort to secure better conditions under the treaty.

August 19. After an inspection of the 50th Regiment at Mayen this morning, the Distinguished Service Cross was conferred on Corporal Young at Ochtendung. Herr Koch, Minister of the Interior, called on me at the Praesidium this afternoon, and, after having put many questions to him, I apologized and proposed that he take his turn. He is a typical Prussian, rather small of stature, but quite alert. He was accompanied by von Starck and Bernsdorff, all of whom had just come from a visit to Tirard. My views as to the necessity of all making special efforts to bring about a real peace struck a responsive chord. Herr Koch thought that national Bolshevism might be a menace to Germany, though that depended upon whether the Chauvinists of the Right could find any common ground with the radicals of the Left. He was all in all more optimistic than could have been expected under the circumstances. The fact that we are still at war with Germany was jocularly alluded to, whereupon he expressed the wish that relations with the peace states might be as good as they were with

the United States. He thanked me "for all you have done for us here in Coblenz."

Mr. Beck and wife dined with us to-night. Though great friends with Roosevelt during the Spanish War, Beck broke with him when the latter ran on the independent ticket. He was keenly sympathetic toward the feeding of the children here and asked that he might be informed when our funds were running low because he felt that he could and should secure more for us.

August 20. Pershing writes that he will probably not retire.

Six hundred replacements are leaving the United States soon and likewise the first elements of our aviation. We had the Sladens and Wibiers for dinner to meet Senator Myers of Montana. The Director of State Property, von Raumer, called. He thinks the absence of phosphates, which come from Florida, has caused the present crops to be far less good than they appear. "Nitrates, of course, we have already, but that will not suffice," he added.

August 22. The delivery of 2,000,000 tons of coal per month, the disappointment in the harvest, the fear of the reparations decision at the coming Geneva Conference, the Polish affair, and the Bavarian separatist movement backed by France — all this, added to shortage of coal, raw materials, and transport, is hitting Germany hard. The mark continues to drop.

In my weekly letter to the State Department I called attention to the difficulties the French authorities find in their efforts to conciliate the Germans. A communication intended as instructions in this matter for the French people here is a eulogy of French soldiers, a retrospect of Napoleonic times, and contains various sentences that would hurt German pride. It will undoubtedly reach German hands, and, even if it did not, it would give the young French officer or soldier just such an idea of his line of conduct as to make him obnoxious to the Germans. I had hoped for something better than this in the matter of reconciliation from both the French civil and military heads.

August 25. Poultney Bigelow sent me his "Prussianism and Pacifism" with the inscription, "H.T.A. Bless you — for many years and no end of vicissitudes." This book is truly Poultneyesque.

Pierre du Souzy came over to see me to-day and spoke of getting into the military service again just as though France were contemplating war with Germany or an advance into that country.

The greatest obsession of France continues to be fear of Germany and the necessity of keeping her eternal enemy weak. Treaties do not make peace.

Bishop Brent, with Bishop White of Australia, arrived about noon to-day from the Lucerne Conference where he has been presiding. At this conference no French clergymen would participate because Germany was represented. This unchristianlike stand shows in an unmistakable way the Gallic hatred of the Teuton. Bishop Brent advised Pershing not to go into politics, especially for the presidency, and intimated that he would not have the soldier vote. To me that appears an anomaly, but I presume Henry Breckinridge's reason, whether or not correct, has influence in the case — "Tactless attitude and handling of non-regular officers by certain elements of Pershing's staff and other regular officers." I had to leave both my Bishops at the Davises for dinner, which lasted two hours, but I returned later for them and took them to the semi-weekly dance which they both enjoyed very much. Bishop White, with his long, wiry figure, and whiskers, looks very mucl like a superior clergyman from our West.

August 26. I again deserted the two Bishops and went off to General Degoutte at Gonsenheim for lunch and the races afterwards at the track east of the Rhine and south of Wiesbaden. A squadron of cavalry met us on the main road and escorted us to the huge Gonsenheim Palace of Herr Walthausen, in the construction of which he expended 15,000,000 marks. It is about the largest and most luxurious modern château I ever saw, with a wonderful view of the Rhine. The owner was a reserve officer who

went to Switzerland at the outbreak of the war and cannot now return. General Degoutte told me that he had to expend 180,000 marks in refurnishing the château; that he much preferred a small villa; that it is very difficult to get such a one as he wanted and also that, had he taken a small house, the Germans would have attributed it to a want of courage, or in any event would have misunderstood it. In a word, he felt he had to furnish and live in this mammoth but unsuitable abode.

August 28. General Evans came in to call this morning, following the distribution of prizes on Clemens Platz for shooting, rifle, pistol, one-pounder, automatic, machine-gun, and Stokes mortar. Due to the small amount of artillery here and the necessity of having all officers possible for that expanded branch in the United States, an order has come directing that all my artillery officers except thirty-six be sent home.

To Kreuznach with Sumner and Barton to lunch with General d'Anselme, whom I have been promising to visit for a long time. This is a "cure" and industrial town, about fifteen kilometres from Bingen, back in the Eifel. Part of the town is very picturesque, part is dirty as all industrial towns are, and part strictly spa-like. Madame d'Anselme and her officer son, as well as Princess Radziwill, were there. They occupy a fairly large house of some industrial, constructed and furnished in a rather plain style. After lunch we drove over to the *Concours Hippique* near Wiesbaden. With my staff I went to the dance at the Officers' Club. It is noteworthy that at such dances as these, very young members of the families participate.

August 29. I was rather late in getting out this morning for a walk with Colonel Bartlett, my liaison officer, with whom I called on General Payot in his office. Marshal Foch and Tirard approve giving Payot control over the coal shipment of 2,000,000 tons a month out of the Ruhr. That is another index of the desire of the French to take over enterprises relating to the Rhineland, thus making the Germans suspicious of their intentions in the Rhine

Valley. The Germans fear lest under the same impulse they might take over the mining of the coal in the Ruhr.

The members of the High Commission are continually taking leaves, and my officers also, but I do not seem to find time or necessity for that. My visits to Paris are generally for two or three days, but sometimes for less than twenty-four hours.

August 30. Our maneuvers began to-day. The 2d Brigade concentrated near Sinzig moves to the west by maneuver marches while the 1st Brigade does the same from Coblenz. General Gaucher, whose brigade would fall under me in case of action, came down to have me approve the proposed disposition of his troops.

Shoes will be necessary with the trousers that are now made part of the uniform, but as I have not had on a pair of shoes since going into Mexico, St. Patrick's Day, 1916, they must be obtained.

August 31. With Wainwright I went out to see the 1st Brigade in the vicinity of Ochtendung, where all is going well. My headquarters were established at Mayen by 11.30 and the mess in a local hotel was under way at that hour. We then crossed over from No Man's Land to the Ahrweiler Valley via Adenau, and reached the 2d Brigade on the high ground above Neuenahr. This year the troops are living in shelter tents instead of being billeted, but the hard rains are making it very disagreeable.

September 1. This morning I went out with Montgomery to the 2d Brigade, then to the 1st. It has rained much more in the area of the former than in that of the latter, but the maneuvers in both are proceeding fairly well. There is not the smoothness of operations in the 2d that characterizes the 1st, and it is partly if not entirely due to the differences of the headquarters.

September 2. *Antwerp.* At the Grand Hôtel, while we were sitting in the salon talking over plans for the day, J. appeared with a smile for every one. All boats and trains from England had been met for her during the past two days, and yet she arrived with her maid unheralded.

After lunch we drove out to the Stadium and occupied Mr. Kirby's box. There was only association football, first between Spain and Italy and then the great game, the finals, between Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia. The greatest concourse of people that the Stadium has thus far witnessed assembled to-day for that game. When it was about half finished, the last-named team became enraged at the umpires and left the field. Such behavior as that, together with the excitement of some of the partisans resulting almost in fisticuffs, is hardly to be expected at such a place. There has been complaint of want of system in the execution of the Olympic programme and much difficulty has been experienced in finding skillful referees. The city is gayly decorated and the hotels are very full. The Stadium is close to the city, just outside the old ramparts.

September 3. The seventh Olympiad is drawing to a close and, after all, the interest in it and the attendance have been far less than could have been imagined. To-day most of the places at the hockey games were vacant. It is reported that the attendance yesterday was by far the largest of any. This enforced stay here awaiting the ship is a great bore because I should be back at the maneuvers and in more direct charge of matters just now.

We visited the exhibition of diamonds, their mining and cutting. Antwerp is one of the great diamond centers. Following lunch with the Koenigs, we again went to the Stadium. To-night there was a very large political parade headed by a banner bearing the words, "Down with the Belgo-French Military Treaty." This document is called by the two interested Governments "L'Accord Franco-Belge contre la Guerre."

September 4. After luncheon we drove down to Brussels, about thirty miles distant, passing through Malines. Our special object was to see again the Wierts Museum, but, in trying to find it, we went to the big National Gallery, which we visited in a hurry; then on to the artistic horrors of this very remarkable collection. We stopped at the Palast Hotel for tea, where, as usual, cabaret dancing

was in full swing. On our return we visited the Malines Cathedral, which has undergone many necessary repairs since my previous visit here. In Belgium as in France the food is extraordinarily good, perhaps better than in any other parts of the world. Though Belgium produces no wine, it is said that the best wines are drunk here. Our dinner developed into a lobster supper.

September 5. The fog has caused the *Antigone* to miss the tide, and it cannot therefore come in until 8 P.M. As no more time is available, I must start at once for Coblenz, leaving my car behind for the others. To miss the boat after waiting over this long time, much against my pleasure, is a nuisance. At the Stadium we saw the Spaniards win against the Dutch for second place in soccer and also the American and French teams in the Rugby finals arrive on the field, but there was not time to see the game even begin.

September 6. There was an unusually heavy mail from the States awaiting me on arrival at headquarters, which I read on the way out to maneuvers. About noon the two brigades, after the six days' maneuvering in the rain, were making contact in a head-on attack near Boos. The recall was sounded at two o'clock, and I lunched at headquarters in a very small hotel in a very small village. These brigades will now make a series of marches to put themselves in a divisional organization which will move to the east against an enemy coming from over the Rhine.

At 6 P.M. I went to the station to receive M. Millerand and Marshal Foch who were stopping here for a few moments on the way to Bonn. Tirard and Degoutte had joined the party at the frontier. When all got out of the train, the headquarters band, after five flourishes for the Marshal, played the "Marseillaise," then the "Stars and Stripes." The two distinguished visitors congratulated the band leader. This was the first time I had ever seen Marshal Foch without General Weygand.

"Didn't Weygand do well in Poland?" he asked me.

"He represented you extremely well, M. Marshal,"

I replied; and M. Millerand, who heard the remark, said: "That is very true." The headquarters band played "Madelon" to the satisfaction of the visitors, who seemed to be pleased with this rather noisy reception.

September 7. This has been truly a French day. The Millerand-Foch party stopped *en route* from Bonn at the tomb of Hoche in Weissenthurm and of Marceau in Coblenz-Lützel, arriving at the Praesidium at 11.30, accompanied by the cavalry squadron. The High Commissioners and myself met them at Tirard's office. From there we went to the Coblenzerhof, where my lunch party of forty-three was served. I made a short speech of welcome, to which M. Millerand replied in a very happy style, expressing appreciation of his reception. He is not tall, but is formed on a rather massive plan with a considerable dimension at the middle. He is probably about fifty-five years old. Marshal Foch was specially cordial and I might say almost demonstrative toward me. Several times during his stay he expressed his appreciation of the conduct of affairs here. All in all, the party seems to have been much pleased with what we have done for them. At night we dined with M. Tirard. This dinner was followed by a large reception, where skits were given by actors from the Comédie Française. The evening was quite a brilliant one, though the Minister President retired early.

September 8. I took Sladen, Johnston, Montgomery, and Bagby to General Degoutte's lunch at Mainz, where we found very largely the same people that were at my lunch and at Tirard's dinner. Millerand made his best speech thus far at this luncheon. A letter from Senator Jimmie Wadsworth, the best defender of the army in Congress, says that the women and the very dry Prohibitionists are after his scalp.

From what Foch and Millerand told me, there is no assurance that there will be a reparations conference in Geneva either in September or October. In fact, I inferred from their language that they prefer to let matters go on as they are. Such a policy hardly shows the benev-

olence that peace demands and may in the end seriously injure the country which fosters it; but all this is so connected with a probably well-studied general policy that it is difficult for an outsider interested in world peace to appreciate it properly.

September 9. In looking over the maneuver situation this morning, I was much pleased with what has been done. The concealment is admirable and the disposition of the forces good, although the artillery and machine-gun plans are not specially satisfactory, but neither of the commanders of these arms has had the experience of the war. General Evans was my guest at headquarters in the village of Kehlberg. After lunch I visited headquarters down as far as battalions and found that the artillery commanders did not have their headquarters with the infantry units to which they belonged, and the divisional and brigade machine-gun officers had not conferred with infantry commanders regarding the disposition of their guns. The British commander-in-chief, General Morland, returned with me to Coblenz for dinner.

September 10. With General Morland I left for the maneuvers at seven o'clock, and reached Holgert Hill at 8.15 to see the division assaulting the intermediate position extending nearly from Machtsheim to the Hill. Four or five staff officers from the French army headquarters were present. The maneuver developed very well and showed considerable skill in spite of various mistakes, such as not putting the support battalions through the assaulting battalions on taking the intermediate position prior to the advance on the final objective.

The Poles and Russians cannot agree on terms for an armistice and the fighting goes on. That condition and the terrible squabbling in Upper Silesia feature the European turmoil to-day. Every day emphasizes the impracticability of the Polish creation. No principle is more correct ideally than the right of self-determination and none more unsound practically. The Paris Conference was woefully mistaken in the creation of Poland with respect to self-

determination as shown by the plebiscites; and even had it been well advised, the results would still have been marked by turmoil and unrest.

September 13. Stone has brought me abreast of affairs at the Commission. Sister Mary Elisabeth came this afternoon to ask J. to dispose of a collection of semi-precious jewels to aid her convent. Mr. Yarnell, of the Hoover Relief Work in Berlin, has called in person in response to my letter concerning funds for continuing our feeding of children in the American zone. He says that there will be no opposition on his part, especially since he wants to take up this same work in the French zone. The French are willing to permit the work, provided the Germans have nothing to do with it. I promised to take the matter up with M. Tirard, who may perhaps consider it undesirable to permit Americans to carry on such a plan in territory held by his country. I shall propose — and Mr. Yarnell is thoroughly in accord with me — that America remain in the background, thus giving France an opportunity to profit by this charity to cultivate better relations.

September 15. This morning, before starting for luncheon with General Morland at Cologne, States mail, including a letter from General Bliss, arrived. He says:

> The official title of the American representative on the Rhineland Commission or on any other body dealing with European affairs ought to be "Compounder-in-Chief of European National Differences."

September 16. This morning Sir Harold Stuart sent me a letter saying that for personal and private reasons he is sending in his resignation as High Commissioner. Perhaps the real reason is that Lady Stuart cannot stand the climate or the social requirements of this place. His departure from the Commission will be a tremendous blow to unqualified square-dealing and frank procedure, and one that I deeply regret. His deputy will never be able fully to replace him; although he is brilliant enough, he does not possess in such an eminent degree the qualities that have made

his chief so successful. Sir Harold has a continuous fight with the French elements of the Commission, beginning with the head, but fortunately most of the differences are compounded and excellent relations are maintained.

My visits to the dentists have confirmed me in the thought that teeth are not keeping up with civilization.

September 18. Colonel and Mrs. Perry Belmont came in to-day by automobile from Wiesbaden. His loquacity and love of politics are still in evidence and his political sophistry continues highly developed. I gave away another bride, Miss Raynor, of the Y, to Captain McDonald, of the cavalry, now doing quartermaster work. Chaplain Easterbrook performed the service at the Palace chapel and a reception afterwards took place at the Hostess House. Without any warning two French Red Cross women came into this zone to-day with a view to stopping here in connection with the small detachment of French soldiers serving as a guard for Tirard. That is indicative of the infiltration of the French into the Rhine Valley.

September 19. This has been a glorious autumnal day and the drive over the mountains to the tea and reception of General and Madame Mordacq at Wiesbaden was most delightful. This reception is a part of the *Semaine Sportive* of the 30th Corps. J. and Jeannette remained over at the Hôtel Rose to hear *Carmen* in the "imperial" loge offered them by General Mordacq. Dresel, who was at the tea, told me that the Germans protested against the appointment of Walker D. Hines as an arbiter in the river question on the ground that we had not ratified the treaty, and also against Dresel's going into the diplomatic box at the Reichstag, because the precedent might suggest the same act by the Soviet representative who is similarly placed with Dresel. He tells me that Herr Simons is very intelligent, but very much a formalist. Dresel's answer to the German stand was that, if the German Government did not want an American representative, he would quickly inform his Government to that effect. That promptly settled the matter. He looks very tired, indeed, and claims he is.

September 20. This has been an English day. We had four Morlands, two Robertsons, and two Mansfields for lunch. In the polo, beginning at three, the Inniskillings beat our cavalry team by 3 to 2¾; their cavalry team, our cavalry team, by 3 to 2¾; and our headquarters, their headquarters, by 4 to 2. Several hundred people witnessed the games, including General Hennoque commanding the 4th French Cavalry Division.

Orders came to-day sending my chief of staff, Montgomery, to the War Department, detailing Colonel W. H. Johnston as chief of staff and making Colonel D. L. Stone my A.C.S. for operations. The latter cannot be spared from the High Commission and he will be kept there. In fact, Sir Harold Stuart informed me to-day and entirely of his own volition that it would be a calamity for both him and Colonel Stone to leave the Commission at the same time, a fact which I fully appreciate. Orders defining the nine corps areas and the assignments of commanding generals to them arrived on the *Pocahontas*. General and Mrs. Burr came on the same ship, he as special representative of the Secretary of War to settle unfinished matters of the Liquidation Commission, particularly those in England. The changes in my staff have been quite radical within recent days. I gave Honeycutt a small enameled vanity box to be carried to the United States for Daria II. The War Department has sent a very commendatory letter on our educational and vocational training; also one assuring us replacements, thus letting it be known that we shall be maintained at a strength of 15,000 to 16,000. A complete division should have been left here in the beginning.

A high English officer informed me that French propaganda against Stone and myself is being made in Cologne, a report which I am not disposed to accept. It is no easy matter to prevent French infiltration in this zone, and any effort toward that end meets with great displeasure.

September 23. The rainy weather has caused the British to take their ponies home without playing a second series of games. M. Millerand was elected President at Ver-

sailles this afternoon, after declaring for some time that he would not be a candidate. Presumably Briand will take his place, and under these conditions it is quite possible that Foch & Company will have less influence than now. It seems that a little difference has developed between Degoutte and Mordacq concerning the effort of the former to cultivate better relations with the Germans.

I went over this morning, in accordance with the desire of Mr. Yarnell, to talk with Tirard with respect to the establishment of soup kitchens in the French zone such as we have here. Tirard wants it done through the soldiers' kitchens, which, of course, would not be satisfactory to the Germans, even though their children be hungry. He says that system is in existence in the French zone and that it works well. There may be some doubt about the success of this, but in any event I am writing him to say that such a distribution through the kitchens of American soldiers would not be permitted and that possibly they would fare as well under ours as under his. Here again it is difficult to follow the French thought, where there seems to be a mixing of charity with the desire to show force.

I visited our air field at Weissenthurm this afternoon, where the construction of hangars is under way. Instead of putting this air force in canvas or in the village, I have approved plans for housing it in buildings made of the sun-dried bricks (*Schwemmsteine*). The constructions required will involve an expenditure of 600,000 to 700,000 marks. These bricks are made from lava deposited in this region by the eruptions of a volcano of which Laacher See is the crater. It is in the form of white powder or ashes with gravel, and is found at a depth of only a few feet from the surface.

September 28. The *Putsch* did not materialize. I imagine the utter absence of any effort toward reactionary movement in Germany, to say nothing of this *Putsch*, must make some of our allies feel that they have been fooled by unreliable agents. France is learning that the Bavarian separatist movement is chiefly monarchical and therefore

dangerous in the end to constitutional Germany and probably to herself.

The Germans are being convinced that the Brussels Conference is not going to be helpful to them, and they are now calling it an "academy of finance," which really describes its proceedings in short terms.

Consul Hogg, stationed at Berlin, and his wife arrived to-day and say matters are very quiet there, though the bankers still expect to see the mark go lower, to 75 or 80. This will be another hard winter for Germany, yet recently her exports have exceeded her imports.

To-day I gave away another bride, Miss Bruce, to Captain Pinkerton. This was the ninth, I think.

I deeply regret Sommervell's departure for the States.

September 30. Our Military Attaché at The Hague, Major Ord, came down with three Dutch officers to study our military system. He brought them in to call this morning. I visited our General and Commercial School in the Real Gymnasium, where we have about four hundred and thirty students, and talked to them in the large lecture-room. We dined to-night with the Robertsons, another farewell dinner for Sir Harold.

October 1. This morning we went with the Andrews to lunch with Sir Thomas Morland. While we were at dinner to-night, Robertson came in to say he had been appointed High Commissioner to succeed Sir Harold and proposed that I take the von Oswald house, giving him this one. He knew that would please me very much, and I do appreciate greatly his courteous act.

October 2. The round of parties for Sir Harold Stuart continues. To-night we gave him a dinner which included the Commissioners and the commanders of the English and Belgian armies on the Rhine.

Europe is not very content with the statement made at Brussels by Mr. Boyden that the United States will not help out further until assured that the various states are making a greater effort to balance their budgets. Germany seems more despondent as winter approaches and the grain

crop is proving less good than it appears. Lenin is now making the peasants sell their grain for his paper money which he prints without limitation and which he says costs nothing. Colonel Hess from here is a member of our delegation at the coming Brussels Conference, which it is hoped will have some influence on international trade and likewise on currency and exchange.

October 4. On his departure to-day, I put my railway car at the disposal of Sir Harold Stuart, with whom farewell letters have been exchanged. Communications from Hess concerning the proceedings of the conference at Brussels indicate that not much will be effected for the financial welfare of the world. The cure seems to be, Produce and Economize.

Some of our American writers have not shown the traditional friendship toward France. One calls her the pest of Europe, while another speaks of her political activities here and there, saying that they are not less marked than those of England, and that the French hand is seen in Poland, Bavaria, and wherever a blow may be struck at Germany. When one sees at short range the selfish acts of the various European states, one cannot have any assurance that peace on earth is more probable than it was nineteen hundred years ago. That fact should, however, not prevent us from preaching peace at all times and using every effort to minimize the number and intensity of wars. Had we ratified with England the proposed agreement to come to France's aid in case of unprovoked aggression by Germany, that would simply have increased the latter's activities toward Poland and Russia.

The Commission still wants a billeting ordinance whereby it may control Coblenz, but under no circumstances will I agree to dividing this responsibility.

A very interesting problem in combat firing was staged near Hirschbach to-day by the 1st Brigade, to which all officers of the 2d Brigade were invited. This difficult problem was so well carried out that there can be no doubt of the efficiency of the troops of this command in field work.

After dinner to-night the three Dutch officers asked to see me in the smoking-room and there presented a photograph of the Dutch Queen, mounted on a horse and duly signed by them. They wanted to express their appreciation of the courtesies extended them during their stay and considered this act a suitable way of doing so. Throughout the war Holland's strict neutrality was in question, but in spite of that these officers were permitted to come here and study our military activities. This permission has possibly caused them to be invited into the Mainz zone.

October 6. This morning the German sculptor began modeling a bust of me in my office. He made sufficient progress to indicate that he is proposing to make a too heroic image, in which the features are excessively aggressive.

Tirard came over to discuss with me the billeting ordinance, the method of payment of billets, courts of appeal, American aid for soup kitchens in the French zone, Momm's case, and the Seligmann house. Tirard wants to be liberal and broad-minded in his conduct toward Allies and Germans, but the pressure from Paris, the military influence, and his own desire to see France profit by the war make good intentions difficult of execution. In these conversations with him it is clear that he finds difficulty in making decisions without consulting others.

A letter from Pershing to-day says he is going to South America to return visits for the President and also that he still hopes to see these troops.

October 7. To the von Oswald house, our future abode, and were astounded at the size, convenience of arrangements, and mechanical devices of the kitchen, which surpass anything I have ever seen in a private house. The basement contains a liberal wine cellar, Rathskeller and various other rooms, all of which were flooded in January.

The posing for the sculptor continues, and this morning Miss Dennis began a pencil sketch during the sitting. This afternoon I went out to Wehr to see a combat firing problem by the 50th Infantry.

October 11. The board I appointed to settle the barge transportation charges with the Belgian authorities made its report. The result is that I approved a check for $100,000 in payment of all outstanding claims. Our contracts involved in the base-port of Antwerp are partly with the State Government and partly with the city. A German firm which has just been authorized to reopen its Antwerp business, offers to give us far more favorable terms than we have been getting from the Belgians for hauling our supplies by barge through the canal to the Rhine and thence by the river to Coblenz. Perhaps our associated nations would be shocked were we to make a contract for this transportation with a German company.

October 14. The sculptor carved or moulded away to-day at his model until he has made of me almost an Abraham Lincoln type. He recognizes that it is "ein Übergang" which will require softening.

Dispatches state that Harding has declared he will bring the troops home from Germany if elected. I also favor that viewpoint, provided it can be done with the agreement of Germans and Allies. In principle it is not wise to have American soldiers in the center of Europe.

Whenever Marshal Foch's name appears on any communication, the French members of the Commission lose sight of the fact that this tribunal or institution is declared the supreme representative of the Inter-Allied and Associated Powers in the occupied territories. To me his name too often suggests a military attitude toward Germany, and I am always apprehensive lest he may have lost sight of the general welfare for the coming years. Just now he is very solicitous for the civil aviators in the occupied territories. I made reasonable answer on this subject, going perhaps a little further than is done at home with our civilian airmen arriving at Government airdromes. In a second letter to General Degoutte he says, "Je vous prie d'insister auprès du Commandant des troupes américaines, etc.," which is strong beyond custom. Still I shall be careful to see that the Marshal does not secure a permanency

of air service privileges here that may be detrimental to the interests of Germany and other countries and unduly advantageous to France; in a word, it is not my opinion that any one country should take advantage of this holding status to make gains that a peace status does not warrant.

October 16. Both Robertson and Roussellier came over to consult me this morning. The former wanted to talk over the proposal of Foch to make the Rhine time the same as that of Western Europe in order to facilitate troop movements. I agreed with Robertson that commerce and industry with genuine peace should occupy the attention of the High Commission and all others rather than a continued thought of mobilization and the transport of troops. Roussellier also wanted to talk over the same matter of time, as well as some little questions of billeting. Tirard in his reply to Dr. Yarnell regarding soup kitchens in the French area holds out for distribution through French soldiers, thus again showing, in my opinion, a peculiarly unsatisfactory view. Roussellier is largely responsible for the policy of *L'Echo du Rhin*, which is unquestionably a source of friction instead of a help in improving the Rhine relations. He promised me he would moderate that policy, but I have not great confidence that he will. Just how far the French influence the Belgian delegates is a source of speculation to me, but I have considerable confidence in the personality and strength of character of the Belgian Commissioner.

A letter from the Adjutant-General says notation will be made in the next Army Register of my LL.D. from Lincoln Memorial University in May, 1920.

October 18. The Allies are demanding 810,000 milk cows from Germany, while the United States is spending large sums of money toward feeding the undernourished children in Germany. I cannot but feel that the world is still askew and that its various states are working at cross-purposes. In fact this demand seems to be directed against the lives of the children of Germany, however unintentional it may be.

We went up the Mosel to Cochem Schloss for tea, supper, and dancing with my Kreis officer who is billeted in this castle. The present building, which is of recent origin, has modern conveniences. In general design it follows the old construction which was destroyed by fire thirty years ago. After having been driven back in 450 B.C. by Attila and his hordes of Huns, the Romans, backed by the Franks and Binguidians, made this town their headquarters. The gathering of the grapes and extraction of the juice by the presses attached to the big tubs was to be seen everywhere along the road. The grapes are much sweeter this year than last and that makes the importation of sugar for the wine much less than usual.

October 20. Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Dodge, of Colorado Springs, and Colonel Thierry, of General Mangin's staff, lunched with us. Mr. Dodge is owner of a paper that is a strong advocate of Leonard Wood and an ardent backer of the Y. He claims that thirteen Senators, headed by Lodge, changed or rather controlled the destiny of the Chicago Convention, and that they were bent, in their opposition to Wilson, to trust no one out of the ranks of the Old Guard.

October 23. We witnessed at Mayen to-day a hotly contested football match between the 8th and 50th Infantry Regiments, the teams, however, being chiefly officers.

Betting on Harding has reached 7 to 1 and the contest has become vituperative as election day approaches. The League of Nations, called by Harding the "Union of Nations," seems to have found a deep lodgment among our people. Possibly after the heat of this election, when Harding is inaugurated, this whole subject will be taken up and a league or covenant or union of some character will be adopted, as it should.

October 26. This morning I conducted General Morland out to the international shooting contest at Hirschbach, where we witnessed the one-pounder, automatic, and machine-gun contests. We won with considerable margin the first two and were second to the French in the third.

The Belgians made a poor showing, which I hope is not the measure of the shooting they would do in war-time; otherwise great strategic talent would be required to counteract the results. The British High Commissioner Robertson was also present.

The campaign at home has become bitter, and at this stage both parties are preaching a league of nations with reservations. The mark has dropped to 72 to the dollar.

October 29. Out of the 3600 men of the 8th Regiment of Infantry, only three have failed to qualify in shooting. That record has probably never been surpassed in our service.

October 30. England has made it known that private German property will not be appropriated, and this has caused remonstrance in France, especially because the French Government was not consulted. That is a step toward liberating foreign holdings in the possession of German individuals. The French and Belgians are going to observe All Saints' Day and the following day, and the Germans will do likewise, by decorating the graves of their fallen soldiers buried in the cemetery here. Tirard stated in conversation that in case a given sum were fixed for the reparations, some guarantee of its payment should be required, and hinted that holding the Ruhr would be a suitable one. I am still reluctant to believe that such a rash step will be taken, for the actual occupation is a very considerable guarantee.

November 2. I have cleared up my table and have also written a short talk for Armistice Day here, based rather on peace than on victory. It seems to me that we should, whenever practicable, emphasize the importance of genuine peace rather than vindictiveness of any kind. After dinner we went over to the Fest Halle to witness an elaborate programme prepared by the Y in connection with the election news. The *Chicago Tribune* undertook to furnish the news as it reached Paris from New York, and it was put on the screen directly it arrived.

We then went to the Club, where the bulletins were

sent, and remained there until two o'clock waiting for the returns. Meager though they are, there is little doubt of Harding's election.

November 3. A New York dispatch says Cox admits the election of Harding. Later an *Amaroc* extra gives Harding a total of 325 electoral votes, whereas only 262 are necessary. Gladys Robertson says Mr. Herrick will be Secretary of State, which is quite probable. He is by temperament a very dependable man and has knowledge of European affairs of a practical kind.

A divisional commander and the Chief of Staff of the Swiss Army have asked to come up here to see these troops. It is flattering that neutral states should want to study our military methods. As no harm can arise from this, I am granting their requests.

November 8. Three staff officers from the French headquarters and the Swiss officers have been witnessing our battalion problems, which are carried out under conditions as near like war as are practicable. We dined to-night with the Robertsons, as did the Rolin-Jaequemyns, and played bridge afterwards. Both Commissioners noted a telegram from Paris in this morning's *Amaroc* and both considered that it is one of many indicative of the intention of occupying the Ruhr. Apparently both of them are opposed to such a step, but are reluctant to talk very definitely, without instructions from home. I am presuming to believe that my views, which oppose strongly such a step, are those of my Government.

To-day Roussellier came to the house to see me with a telegram from Minister President de Leygues, saying that the President of the Republic had conferred upon me the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. That is one degree higher than my present grade and is, indeed, very flattering and surprising.

I gave away another bride to-day, Miss Miller, to Lieutenant Mallet, in the Palace chapel.

November 14. We left Coblenz at 4 P.M. for the Krupp von Bohlen lodge. It is one of the most complete and best

adapted buildings for its purpose, though small, that I ever saw. We are using the kitchen furniture and table equipment; but we brought food out from the city. The furniture, especially the metal work in the house, is exquisite and in the best of taste. I feel somewhat ashamed of myself for having put off the address to-morrow on General Johnston. However, I shot my bolt on the real Armistice Day, the 11th, in the article published in the *Amaroc*.

November 15. The drive for deer yesterday was not very successful. We killed a couple of hares and sighted three foxes and two roebucks. Our outing was, however, most agreeable, due largely to bridge and the company. Much credit is due to Barton and Hutchinson for the satisfactory way in which all the details of this week-end were organized and carried out.

As this is the Belgian King's name-day, the High Commissioners celebrated here by having a big dinner and reception. I had Dr. Field and Colonel Biddle for luncheon, the former being a "Peace Commissioner" living in Zurich. I witnessed the construction of a pontoon bridge at Oberwerth Island, one hundred metres long, by the engineers of this command.

The League of Nations now sitting at Geneva seems thus far to be a league for wrangling.

Deputy High Commissioner Cattoir tells of indignities his chief has suffered on the train near Cologne on the 16th while *en route* to Brussels, at the hands of a lieutenant, an emergency officer who had failed to pass his examinations and was *en route* home to be mustered out. I apologized most fully, and promised to try the officer at once if investigation confirmed the reports.

November 18. Mail came to-day from the States as well as certain much-needed officers, Bates for the 8th Infantry, Herr, G–4, and Hodges for the artillery. The mark has advanced to 61, thus making the fluctuation within ten days twenty-eight points. I authorized my finance officer to buy dollars from the American Express Company to the extent of one to two hundred thousand to pay the troops.

On the strength of that, certain officers, who will be disciplined, went to the finance officer and purchased considerable sums.

The world continues upset, and it seems most unfortunate that we, who in a way hold the moral leadership of the world, should not be a member of the League, and that our status viewed through European glasses is lower than it was eighteen months ago. It is unfortunate also that much of Europe does not know how much our failure to join in the after-war restorations is due to internal considerations and not indifference to European affairs.

November 21. I telegraphed Elmer Roberts yesterday that, instead of going to Paris for Thanksgiving dinner, we shall have a reception here for the American colony.

Word has come saying that the forces here must be reduced, the officers to a total of 446, and the units to correspond to the tables of organization. I inspected the new horses which Melville purchased in England and find them of exceptional value, the big chargers notably so. There are also fine prospects for jumpers, racers, and chasers, but the prices paid were considerably higher than I have known our Government to pay for its horses.

Daddy Gross of the Y handed me a scenario this morning which he thinks will work wonders in the United States toward recruiting. As far as these forces are concerned, recruiting is not difficult.

November 25. This Thanksgiving morning I went to the office as usual. At the reception this afternoon there were probably eight hundred in all, and the house was none too large. Following this we went around to Liberty Hut to the international boxing staged by the Y.

November 26. To-day I rode for the first time my big charger, Colonel Melville, recently arrived from England. He is a three-quarters thoroughbred, seventeen hands high, girth 80¾ inches, and weighs about 1350 to 1400 pounds.

Von Starck presided over a meeting in Berlin having for its object a protest against the burden of the military occupation and in favor of the development of propaganda

along the same line. That act on his part is hardly in consonance with his duty as Reichskommissar at Coblenz. Germany has strongly protested against the transfer of Eupen and Malmédy to Belgium.

December 1. We came up to Cologne for the marriage of Phyllis Morland to Captain Vining, A.D.C.; lunched with the Hutchisons; then to the church; afterwards to a reception at the house of the commander-in-chief; then to the Dom Hotel, where we are stopping. At 7.30 we went to see *La Tosca*, a terrible tragedy clad in beautiful music by Puccini. Although I had seen it before, it never was quite so impressive nor nearly so well staged.

December 2. The Congressman from Mississippi, Mr. Candler, has returned from his German trip brimful of talk, and gratitude that I advised him to go over into the late enemy's country.

The League of Nations has consented to have Austria admitted, but still refuses to permit Germany to come in until she has given greater evidence of good-will in the execution of the treaty.

December 6. Argentina has retired from the League. There is much talk of endeavoring to expunge Article 10 from the treaty in the hope that the United States may ratify. The French headquarters inquires concerning the reported reduction of our forces. It is my opinion that we should have troops enough here to give our voice some influence in the councils and that we should, nevertheless, do our utmost to bring about conditions that would expedite the departure of all troops from the Rhine. Such a date would depend largely upon the good-will shown by Germany, and France's willingness to accept the fact that Germany must be rehabilitated.

December 10. We came directly from the station here at Brussels, escorted by Colonel Thomas, to the Hotel Astoria where a small suite was ready for us. We went about 11.30 to the residence of Ambassador Whitlock; thence to lunch at Château de Laeken, accompanied by the Whitlocks and Thomases. Besides our party only

two ladies-in-waiting and one aide were present. This palace is more pleasing and in general more attractive than the palace in Brussels. The royal couple could not have been more hospitable and agreeable. Throughout the lunch my conversation with the Queen was the counterpart of that held with her when they visited my 8th Corps headquarters at Montigny-sur-Aube. She gave me a couple of small photographs taken by her when there and promised to have them enlarged and sent to me. After lunch we sat around the fire and conversed. The King again told me that the nations were exhausted when the American forces came in, and without them the enemy would have been victorious.

At dinner at Ambassador Whitlock's were the Carton de Wiarts, Prime Minister, the Devèzes, Minister of National Defense, Ruoquoys, Count X, aide to the King, and members of the Embassy.

December 11. This has been a full day. We lunched at the home of the Minister of National Defense, Devèze, who had as guests the Whitlocks, Thomases, the private secretary to the King, the famous Burgermeister of Brussels, Mr. Max, and a senator. The Devèzes have accepted my invitation to visit us in Coblenz in January. He proposed to Mr. Whitlock that he accompany him to Coblenz in his private car. The dinner at the Thomases included the Whitlocks, the Serots, French Military Attaché, the Greindls, the Belgian Corps Commander, and the Cocrofts.

December 12. I did not go out of the hotel before lunch, but remained in my room having an orgy of newspaper reading. For lunch at the Thomases in addition to the Embassy people there were the d'Outremonts and Madame Naon, the beautiful wife of the former Argentine Minister to the United States. He seems to have lost his position for insisting on Argentina, which was somewhat pro-German, declaring for the Allied cause.

Mr. Whitlock is unquestionably very much liked by the royal couple, and the King's request to the President to have him continue as Ambassador to Belgium is, I believe,

REVIEW AT CHÂTILLON-SUR-AUBE, 1919, OF THE 81ST DIVISION OF THE EIGHTH ARMY CORPS
King Albert, Queen Elizabeth, General Pershing, General Allen

GENERAL PERSHING POSING FOR QUEEN ELIZABETH AT VEUXAULLES

a matter of record. Mr. Whitlock seemed appreciative of our visit, which he said would be useful for him in a certain way at Brussels. Presumably he meant that the attention shown the Commanding General of the American Forces in Germany by the King and the Cabinet would help keep the United States on the Belgian map. Of course, at Brussels, as at all capitals, there is the usual struggle for supremacy, whether social, political, or commercial. In certain quarters here I notice that a pro-French attitude is interpreted as anti-American.

We are experimenting with a view of determining whether or not all our electric communication between Coblenz and Antwerp cannot be done by wireless.

December 13. Back to Coblenz. As Degoutte now finds he can get back from Paris on the 12.45 train to-morrow, I shall have a lunch for the "gros bonnets" in the house, the smaller ones going to the Coblenzerhof, and in the afternoon a tea following the decoration and the review of the troops.

December 14. This is a French day. At lunch we had all the Commissioners and Deputies, General Degoutte, General Michel, General Mordacq, and others. The decoration ceremony took place in front of the Palace, and the entire garrison with the French battalion participated. The reviewing stand was just in front of Liberty Hut. General Degoutte, in bestowing the Grand Officier, gave me the accolade, which it is reported is to be abolished in the French Army.

The Germans turned out in large numbers to witness the ceremony. Mr. Dresel has also arrived from Berlin as my house guest. The English authorities have returned to their pre-war custom in the matter of decorations, whether giving or receiving, and for that reason a few intended for English officers by our Government will not be delivered.

CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE BANNS

Preparations for my son's marriage to Mlle. du Souzy — Christmas trees — Senator McCormick is entertained — Trumpeters greet the New Year at costume dance — Inspecting M. du Souzy's hounds — A château without running water — Monuments to our dead — Field Marshal Wilson's Celtic versatility — A new airplane machine gun — A paper chase and a severe fall — I am credited with playing a double rôle — Uncle Sam's imposing shock troops — Reparations are excessive — The accidental discovery of the long range of the "Berthas" — A picturesque marriage ceremony — Franco-American delegation visits Coblenz — The Bergdoll case — Proposal to make Marshal Foch a general in the United States Army.

December 16, 1920. We are in Paris again, where I have been accompanying Harry and Juliette to various jewelry shops, where they were endeavoring to select a sapphire engagement ring. Consul-General Thackera, to whom we went concerning the marriage requirements, which are certainly difficult as between foreigners and French, strongly advised H. to go directly to a lawyer who would arrange a rather complicated matter quickly. This was done, and Mr. Loeb promised that all would be in readiness in a couple of days, including the approval of the French authorities and of our consul. The banns must be published as soon as these papers are ready at Gevrolles, but not until H. has signed the marriage contract in the presence of the Bishop of Dijon. They have decided to have both the civil marriage (at the mayor's) and the religious one in the Cathedral of St. Augustine here in Paris. All will be followed by a breakfast at Madame Arbel's, the aunt, given by the du Souzy parents.

The dinner at the Ambassador's was an unusual assemblage of distinguished people and it was beautifully arranged. I had an opportunity of talking a little with the English Ambassador, Lord Hardinge, who spoke quite freely of Poland and the necessity of a fixed sum for the reparations; with General Weygand, whose views on Poland are identical with mine which have been frequently

expressed; and with the Minister of Finance Marsal, who fully recognizes the difficulties of his rôle and who thinks our Federal Reserve banking system still too rigid. Mrs Wallace says she is coming up again to see us. Both Lord Hardinge and Mr. Wallace think that the French will never occupy the Ruhr. That simply means to me that England strongly opposes such a move.

December 17. The military officers of the Embassy and their wives gave us a very agreeable lunch at the Hôtel de la Grande Bretagne. At 4.30 we went to the Ritz for tea with H., Juliette, and her cousin Andrée Arbel. We dined with the Denègres at the Ritz, where they are occupying the suite just made vacant by the Queen of Roumania. Denègre gave us considerable news of a political nature from the United States.

December 18. We lunched at the Meurice, took tea with Mrs. Hickox in her beautiful apartment, and came aboard the train at nine o'clock without having dined. Floyd Gibbons, of the *Chicago Tribune*, came for a long talk with me in which he unsuccessfully tried to get my opinion concerning the Wallace-Mayer episode. Our modest rooms — a double with bath and a single room — cost 175 francs per day, which is about 135 more than they would have cost before the war.

December 23. A delegation representing the railway employees called on the Commission this afternoon to discuss the prospective strike. They claim that the Government cannot or will not give them sufficient to support them and their families. With the diminishing purchasing power of the mark, they are making a request that should be favorably considered. It is difficult to know whether Germany's financial plight is as bad as reported.

December 25. The rain throughout yesterday was a great drawback to the distribution of presents at the Christmas trees got up by the soldiers for the German children throughout the area. This day has been a very successful Christmas in so far as personal presents and trees are concerned. Several cables have come from the

United States. In the afternoon a number of people came in to see our house tree, including Tirard, his sister, and niece.

A telegram from Colonel Holiday shows the Bolsheviks are about ready to advance in the north. Nothing short of a coalition of the Allied and Associated Powers will head them off, for neither England nor France will move without the United States, which means inaction. Von Hoffman in an interview stated that he rushed Lenin through Germany in a sealed car to destroy the Russian Army, thinking that Bolshevism might last at most only a few weeks. He deeply regrets his act, and now wants Germany to join with the other Powers in crushing the Soviet Government by an advance on Petrograd.

December 28. Senator McCormick, with his party of Colonel Logan and three newspaper men, arrived from Cologne this morning while I was at the High Commission. Just why he should have such a journalistic staff for his private mission is somewhat odd. He is in appearance a very typical American who has had much experience abroad, and, fortunately for his present mission, speaks French. From what he did *not* tell me because of his confidential relations with Harding, he is sure Knox will be the next Secretary of State. In addition to the Commissioners and Deputies, I had Generals Hale, Sladen, and Johnston for lunch with him. No speeches; I simply proposed the health of our visitor who came all the way from Washington to see Coblenz and was running off in a few hours. His reply was, "Au revoir, à bientôt." He impresses me rather as a clever politician than a particularly clever man. He admits that his wife, who is the daughter of Mark Hanna, is the politician of his family.

At the conference this morning a draft of a letter was presented for the signature of the Commissioners and myself, informing Herr von Starck that German Cabinet Ministers who might again make such public utterances as those at Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle would subject themselves to the ordinances of the High Commission. The French and Belgian Commissioners were ready to sign, but

the Britisher wanted to communicate with his Government. After considerable talk, chiefly by the two former, I expressed approval of the move, but proposed that the President of the Commission alone sign the letter. This was adopted.

December 29. A cable from March came to-day saying my Ludendorff papers had been seen by the Secretary of State and the President, and that no action would be taken by this Administration.

December 30. To-day I had one of my popular officers, whose little bride I gave away to him not long since, on the carpet for trying to protect his host, who was an intoxicated major. His desire to shield his host evidently took precedence over his duty to his Government. I am sending him home.

The military people at Washington anticipate a pretty thorough sweep-out on March 4th, and already General Pershing has been selected as Marshal of the Inaugural Parade. General Wood was Marshal at Wilson's inauguration, but he turned over most of the work to me, as Chief of Staff of the parade.

December 31. The principal event of this day was our dinner in costume, attended by Tirard, his sister, and her daughter, the Robertsons, Wibiers, Bartons, Brisarts, and Sturgeses. Promptly at midnight taps were sounded over the Old Year, and the New Year was welcomed in by the trumpeters leading a march around the large hall, in which all joined.

January 5, 1921. This morning M. du Souzy showed me his hunters and hounds. On the whole, the pack is not well matched as to color and size, yet it shows the colorings that generally mark hounds containing much English blood. He also has a kennel of wild boar dogs consisting chiefly of terriers of almost any variety. He showed me the horses of his brother-in-law Beauregard and of his brother Marc. The slight stiffness that was apparent in the beginning has all disappeared, and the family, numerous as it is, seem to be happy over the approaching event.

The curé came with the necessary papers relative to prospective children being brought up in the Church. Harry signed these, and the curé remained for luncheon. There was the usual tea at 4.30, followed by bridge. Count and Countess d'Harcourt came in about 5 P.M. and remained for dinner, which was well appointed as usual, with a selection of good wines; but there was no indication of any toast being proposed. In the midst of this château-civilization, it is almost incredible that there should be no gas or electricity, no central heating plant, and no running water. The mud and humidity of this section specially demand good lighting and heating, though the weather even now is more like April than January. Yellow jasmine in bloom covers the front of Marc's house.

January 6. We remained at Gevrolles for lunch, the gayest meal we have thus far had; then started for home via Nancy. Du Souzy told me that when Harry went with him to Lyon, the marriage contract would be signed, and then he would know what they were proposing for Juliette as a *dot*. He said that each of his children would eventually have a château and that they might sell them after he was gone.

January 9. Colonel Thomas sent me a cipher message from Brussels intimating that a peace would be arranged with Germany shortly after Harding's inauguration, and that our troops would be withdrawn at once. I attach no importance to such statements because it is not believable that such snap action will be taken by the class of men who will probably surround the new President.

Stone came to see me, perturbed lest the French cause in the United States in respect to trade be sacrificed by the German propaganda going on there; he is also worried lest our troops be withdrawn here to the detriment of tranquillity in the entire occupied territory. He thinks if we were to go out that possibly England might do the same, and that Germany, with her ever-increasing resistance to the Versailles Treaty, would never pay France any indemnity.

January 11. With Hutchinson I went this morning to Cologne to attend the investiture of General Degoutte with the Knight Commandership of the "Very Ancient and Honorable Order of the Bath," by Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, who was specially instructed by the King to bestow the decoration. Cold as it was, troops were without overcoats and the march-by was in column of squads. The Field Marshal is an Ulster man, about six feet, four and a half inches tall, with the manners of one of our popular politicians. For example, taking both my hands in his, he said, "Yes, young fellow, I should like to see your cut-throats again." I answered that, having now a clear understanding of his private estimate of my forces, I would like to hear what he would have to say when he made a public statement.

January 12. Again wrote to the President of the 90th Division Association relative to the construction of monuments to our dead, in which I recommended one at San Antonio on the Alamo Plaza, one on the St.-Mihiel front, and the third on the Argonne–Meuse front; also that an effort be made to collect $100,000 for that purpose instead of half the sum as proposed. I proposed that these monuments be not the usual single shafts, but some sort of open-work construction of durable character.

The President has directed that we no longer have our Ambassador present at the Paris Council of Ambassadors. The press, especially the French, is trying to show that the relief of our Ambassador from this Council has no political significance. The French press thinks this *fâcheuse nouvelle* probably brought about by France's recent drastic note to Germany regarding disarmament. That may be true, and it may be due, as one journal states, to the success of German propaganda in the United States. Yesterday I asked General Degoutte whether France was making any effort to checkmate this propaganda, and his reply was: "No, France is too poor to furnish the money necessary for it."

While the Rhine is now lower than it has been for 120

years, at this time last year it was higher than it had been for 136 years; "Vater Rhein" is not very consistent as to seasons.

January 14. I met Field Marshal and Lady Wilson at the station at one o'clock. After luncheon I conducted him to the polo field where he witnessed a battalion of the 8th Infantry at bayonet exercise and later a squad each with a Browning machine gun and a Browning automatic. While he was very much interested in what was shown him, as indicated by his questions, his comments were very meager. The Arnold Robertsons gave a dinner for the Wilsons at which all the Commissioners were present. I had a lengthy talk with him covering a variety of subjects, and endeavored to find the secret of his success. Perhaps it is due to his Celtic versatility.

Rolin-Jaequemyns contends that the United States should not withdraw its forces from the Rhine. Such a catastrophe would probably cause England to withdraw and it would thus leave only France and Belgium. It would be very unsatisfactory for Belgium to have only France as an associate here. The French would probably occupy the American zone, and in a short time friction between the Germans, French, and Belgians would surely follow, and probably there would be no reparations on the part of Germany. At the present time the Belgian forces are very uncomfortable in their relations with the Germans. Belgium should have a bridgehead, but that was "forgotten at Paris."

January 16. We gave the Wilsons a dinner to-night which included the Morlands who were stopping with us, all the High Commissioners and their families and all my generals and ex-generals.

January 17. I took the Field Marshal to the stables to see our horses, especially my polo ponies. Then to the reviewing stand on the green in front of the Palace. After presentation and inspection, there was a march-by of the Coblenz garrison less the trains, which was better by far than I have ever seen in winter time.

It appears that Winston Churchill will succeed Milner as Secretary for Colonies and Lord Derby will become Secretary for War in Churchill's place.

Since 1871, say fifty years, there have been sixty-four cabinet crises in France, or a change of ministries every nine months.

January 19. I attended the chaplains' lunch to-day at the Coblenzerhof, a get-together for the chaplains and welfare workers.

The weather continues soft, and thus far we have had rarely sufficient cold to freeze the ground.

After lunch I went down to Mulheim, our ammunition dépôt, to see the trial of a new airplane machine gun to be operated by the engine of the plane. This gun is being developed by a German inventor under our supervision at Metternich. The test was not successful, but sufficient was shown to prove that the principle, which is new, is a sound one. The gun was attached to the front of a Ford car and a belt chain connected with the engine, loaded, discharged, and ejected. As the gun is fast to the plane, there can be no traversing except that due to the motion of the plane. The cam principle is much used in the construction and the number of parts is small.

The Misses Enders and Lowden arrived this afternoon as our house guests. The former is an old friend of ours and the latter is the daughter of Governor Lowden.

M. Rolin sent me a copy of his letter to his Government relative to the withdrawal of the United States troops and the importance of our maintaining a representation here.

The French are becoming very doubtful as to getting their expected large sums in money from Germany and are now acquiescing in the proposed delivery of a large quantity of products in the coming reparations.

January 22. After inspection of the trains of the 1st Brigade this morning I had a conference with the Reichskommissar, who complains that the High Commission is continually assuming more authority of an administrative character. He cited two cases in the French zone, evi-

dently violations of ordinances, which are defended by the Commission. It is a fact that the High Commission has condoned offenses against its own ordinances by French Kreis officers. Robertson informed me that he could not let the Germans know that he had disapproved acts done in violation of our ordinances by our own officials. That is a great surprise to me, and in my opinion is a statement that his Government would not support. My policy is decidedly the contrary.

An official communication has just arrived that the Belgian Minister of National Defense, as representative of the King, is to invest me with the Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold on Tuesday.

January 23. On the paper chase this morning "Right-O" fell on his head and then flopped over, driving my face and head into the mud. This was while going very fast, and it might have been much worse. A bitten tongue, a bruised face, and a twisted neck serve as reminders, and I should add that two lower teeth are loosened. I quickly mounted and finished the ride.

January 24. The soreness from my fall is nearly gone, but my black eye is hardly fit for the Belgo-American festivities we are now having here.

The Minister of National Defense and Madame Devèze, with General Ruoquoy and staff officers, arrived. At the Rolin dinner, toasts were made by him, Devèze, and myself. M. Rolin's remarks in reference to the double rôle that I have been playing here were specially flattering. In extending a welcome to the guests on behalf of the "Colony of the Bridgehead of Coblenz," I caused the High Commissioners a little surprise and most of the others some amusement. After dinner I thanked M. Devèze for coming over and the honor he was going to confer on me. In very diplomatic language, he replied that it carried the affection of the Belgian Army and the King.

January 25. At ten o'clock I took Madame Devèze, who is very fond of horses, to the headquarters stable to see our horses and polo ponies.

Just before the march-by, I was invested with the *Grand Officier* of the Order of the Crown; Colonel Stone, Majors Bagby and Peek, and Lieutenant Sumner, with lesser grades. We lunched at the Robertsons', where he made a speech of welcome in French, but even though knowing that language as well as he does, it was not easy for him. Devèze, who is specially skillful in public speeches, replied most gracefully. In the afternoon, all went out to Niederzissen to a battalion firing problem. It unfortunately was greatly spoiled by the heavy fog; still, enough could be seen and heard to convince the visitors of the high training these men had received. I escorted the Minister out and back. He explained that there had been a mistake about my decoration and that it should have been "de Léopold." He explained that with the "Couronne," my Croix de Guerre would have two palms and that I would retain my *Commandeur* of Leopold. However, he offered me my choice and said he would convey my decision to the King.

January 27. While the conference in Paris is under way, both the franc and mark are stiffening. I am of the opinion that once the reparations question is solved, Germany's rehabilitation and with it her unit of exchange will be greatly improved.

With Dunn, I left for Aix. We arrived at the Palast Hotel, where we are now billeted and where Minister Devèze's dinner was given. There were about thirty present, including the members of the High Commission and their deputies, various Belgian generals, and the heads of the military committees of the Belgian Senate and Chamber. The Minister made a strong speech in which he alluded to the American soldiers as the "highly disciplined and imposing shock troops."

January 28. Due to the fall of an airplane four hundred feet at our field this morning, Lieutenant Cutler is dead and Lieutenant Dorland is still unconscious.

The Sturgeses gave a big matching dinner party last night of about sixty-four covers, including all the High

Commissioners. Each man was given a bandolier ribbon to which was suspended a fifty-pfennig piece, the matching piece, and the women were correspondingly equipped. At the tables the matching principle was continued for seats and even food.

January 29. The inspection and review of the 2d Brigade on the field this side of Andernach this morning showed a decided improvement in its appearance and marching.

The Bergdoll case is to the fore now. I have been adjusting the differences between the chief of staff, the chief of police, and the chief of G–2 in connection with this matter. I directed Colonel Stone to see Herr von Starck and tell him that I very deeply regretted the action of my agents of the Department of Criminal Investigation and apologized both to the Central Government and to the Baden authorities. He was also instructed to request that these men be turned over to me for discipline. A mistake was committed between my chief of staff and headquarters commandant, due largely to Bagby's absence and mine and to an excessive desire on the part of some of my agents to capture Bergdoll. Of course these agents should not have been authorized to go into unoccupied Germany and make arrests. Such an act is wholly at variance with our previous policy and inconsistent with a proper appreciation of German sovereignty over her unoccupied territory. In the past my agents have been sent into Germany to take over offenders only after their arrest by German authorities, and that should have been the policy in this case.

As a result of the Paris Conference, the reparations sums seem to have been fixed at a total of 226 billion gold marks, distributed as follows:

2 billion for a period of two years;
3 billion for three years;
4 billion for three years; and thereafter
6 billion for 31 years —

plus a certain per cent for excedent exports. This total

is excessive and should be reduced. The Belgians here think likewise, and the French doubt whether Germany can pay it.

January 30. Commandant Jacobson, of the Board of Control at Essen, says that the Krupp Company employs 80,000 persons, of whom about thirty per cent are women; that during the war this number was about 180,000, and that Bertha's fortune is reckoned at two billion marks. He related the story of the unexpected discovery connected with the long-range German guns, the "Berthas." In accordance with the data worked out at the Krupp establishment, these guns should have fired a distance of forty kilometres, and the firing was carried out on this idea without the supervising authorities being able to find where the projectiles were landing. A farmer living eight kilometres beyond the targets made complaint to the authorities that shells were falling on his place. The formulas were gone over again, and it was still found that the range under the conditions given, with the powder used, character of the gun, etc., should be only forty kilometres. At that time diminution of friction at a height above ten kilometres was not known, and this proved to be the key to the great range of one hundred and twenty kilometres subsequently attained with a maximum coordinate of fifty kilometres.

February 3. The German Government has declined to accept the terms of the Paris Conference as a basis for discussion in Brussels. In spite of this *impasse* the mark remains steady. I cannot believe that our country will look with favor upon the twelve and one half per cent export tax. The principle of more work, more to pay, is not sound.

To-day I sent my share to Lansing Beach, Chief of Engineers, for a memorial window to be put in the West Point Chapel in memory of the dead of the class of '82. There are now only ten members of this class on the active list of the original thirty-seven. This total of only thirty-seven represents those who graduated of the one hundred

and twenty-seven who had passed the initial examinations and were full-fledged cadets. At that time the army was only about 25,000 strong, and, as there were not enough vacancies for all, the Academic Board was ruthless in its findings.

February 6. We left this morning for Harry's marriage in three automobiles containing the Andrews, Mrs. Sturges and Mrs. Bagby, Tate, Sumner, Barton, P. du Souzy, and Genevieve Johnston. Near Trier the bearing of one car burned out, and all of us had to get into two cars and proceed to Luxembourg, where we lunched. We are again at the Grand Hôtel in the Stanislaus Place of Nancy. This city, like every village through which we have passed to-day, is celebrating *Dimanche Gras*, and boys and girls are seen in costume and masks everywhere.

February 7. Leaving Nancy, we cut across at Autreville to the main Toul–Neufchâteau road in order that the party might see Domremy, where Jeanne d'Arc was born and where she attended church, and also the fine building erected on the site where she saw the vision. We proceeded to Gevrolles, where the party was distributed amongst the members of the family and at the Château de Montigny, my former headquarters.

At six o'clock the civil marriage took place in the upstairs office of the small mayoralty. As du Souzy is the mayor, his assistant, in overcoat with a red, white, and blue badge of office around his waist, performed the ceremony. The parents, the bridal couple, Andy, and Antoine du Souzy were the only persons present. As all this took place by the gleam of a small lamp, the picture was truly weird. We had a wonderfully good dinner here at the house of about twenty-five, while about sixteen dined with the Antoine du Souzys. All these persons except ourselves are relations of the bride. The notary at Lyon must be laboring under the delusion that all Americans are rich, for he has sent Harry a bill of 8000 francs for drawing up the marriage contract.

February 8. The marriage took place this morning at

eleven o'clock in the little church at Gevrolles, decorated for the most part with paper flowers. After the mass, the parents and witnesses, with the young couple, went into the room off the altar, where the real marriage service took place. It was simple in the extreme and was read, after which the registry was signed by the young couple first, then by the parents of both, and finally by the witnesses. While this was going on, Harry and Juliette exchanged rings in quite an informal way and thus ended the ceremony.

February 9. On leaving Nancy, we proceeded directly to Toul, where we lunched, and then on to the St.-Mihiel front, especially the parts where my division participated. We visited Villers-en-Haye, Puvenelle Woods, Mamey, Faye-en-Haye, Regnéville, Thiaucourt, thence back via Viéville, Vilécy, Pagny, Preny, and thence to Metz, where we are passing the night at the Hôtel de France. It has given me much satisfaction to revisit these battle-fields and freshen my memory as to the names and terrain. Something is being done to repair the results of the struggle, but much will still be left undone for many months. Faye-en-Haye is being built temporarily in wood about one kilometre from the old site. Regnéville has practically nothing left, as most of the stone of that village was used by us in making the road along there passable. Thiaucourt shows much reconstruction of a solid type.

February 14. With the Sladens and Johnstons I left for Mainz this morning to be present at the bestowal of numerous decorations by General Degoutte during the visit of the Franco-American delegation. The latter is composed of five women and three men who have come to the Rhine "to pay their respects to the American Army." They were all on the reviewing stand to see the march-by. Notwithstanding the cold weather, General Degoutte and most of the general officers present were without overcoats, but other officers and some of the troops wore them. The General decorated in all about forty-five, amongst whom were all grades and colors, yet

he gave the accolade without distinction. It was quite amusing in fact to see some of the colored soldiers reach out to embrace him rather than wait to receive the kiss on each cheek.

February 16. The Franco-American delegation lunched at the Coblenzerhof with the Johnstons. In the afternoon we went down to Andernach where the Officers' Club gave a tea and a battalion of the 5th was paraded. The Duchess de Rohan and the Marquise de Rochambeau asked to have the colors of the parading battalion brought up that they might see them, and, when they arrived, these ladies kissed them with emotion.

February 17. There was a drill by the infantry and one by the cavalry on the polo field for the visitors and a lunch afterwards at the Coblenzerhof.

Dresel came in to-day from Paris, and says that our representation, though unofficial, will be withdrawn from the Reparations Committee. Why this decision, he did not know. Possibly it is an answer to the recent Paris statement involving the 220 billion gold marks and the twelve and a half per cent export tax.

The *Tribune* has sent up a staff correspondent from Paris to get information from me about the Bergdoll case. I gave him all the facts for his personal information, but not for publication. As this matter has received a great deal of notoriety, and since it is possible that the American Legion may make an issue of it, I had Bagby and Davis draw up a statement for all the papers, including the Associated Press.

The Berlin authorities continue very anxious to have both Naef and Zimmer released without trial, but the executive finds difficulty in securing what he wishes from the Baden judiciary. At the Liberty Hut to-night I presented belts donated by the Y.M.C.A. for the five championships in boxing just decided here.

February 22. With Hutchinson and Barton I left Coblenz for Cologne yesterday, bound for Paris, on the same train with Tirard, who passes much of his time on the railroad.

I am stopping with Hazen Hyde, who is a son-in-law of ex-Ambassador Leishman. At the luncheon to the heads of the South and Central American missions, the Ambassador put me *vis-à-vis* him.

M. Briand told Mr. Grasty a few days ago that nothing less than the Paris terms could save his Ministry, and that the attitude of the United States in withdrawing from European affairs is very distressing to France.

February 23. My aides have been of very little value to me to-day. I was late in getting out this morning, and went to the Embassy, where my presence was not wanted until noon, so I went to 24 boulevard de Courcelles and called on Marshal Foch, who gave me his usual cordial welcome. He told me he had finished the Polish affair — referring to the military details of the new Franco-Polish treaty — at seven o'clock last evening, and that he was thus prevented from going to the American Club dinner. He was specially anxious to know what would be the attitude of the Harding Administration toward Europe. He did not know what would be the outcome of the new conference, and was surprised to learn that we still have 15,000 American troops on the Rhine.

There is a movement on foot here in Paris to have America recognize the exploits of Marshal Foch by making him, before his departure for the United States, a general with emoluments in the American Army.

February 24. The lunch with the Duchess de Rohan in her palace at 33 boulevard des Invalides was most interesting and friendly. Her daughter, the Princess Murat, Marshal and Madame Foch, Madame Fénélon, Prince and Princess Lucinge (formerly Mrs. James Stickney), the Duchess's daughter-in-law and grandson were present. Barton and Hutchinson were both with me. The Duchess is a most interesting personage and most enthusiastic over the Franco-American relations. Notwithstanding her seventy years, she stood the strenuous trip on the Rhine without showing fatigue, and throughout her stay made very fine speeches both in French and English. Her hôtel

is full of portraits of historical characters with whom she and her family are connected.

Senator Taufflieb called after luncheon at the Duchess's to take me to the Senate, where I was presented to a number of members, with whom I had most agreeable talks. The installation of this building is one of the best in Paris and the view of the Luxembourg Gardens is beautiful.

February 28. With Hendricks and Dunn I went up this morning to return the call of the new Corps Commander Pouydraguin at Bonn. He has the same house that Le Conte had. He has two daughters, very small in stature.

March 1. This morning we had a session in the auditorium of the Commission building to hear the Presidents and Deans of the various universities in the occupied territory. At four tables forming a hollow square, all covered with green cloth, sat the conferees; the High Commission, Tirard presiding, sat facing the professors; the deputies and lesser officials were on the sides; the lawyers and others were behind us. This arrangement revealed the hand of a good impresario. On the side of the Commission French was used; on the side of the professors, German. It was therefore necessary to employ an interpreter for both sides across the hollow square. Education and the housing of students were discussed.

At 3.30 a similar conference was held with representatives of the bishoprics and archbishoprics of Cologne, Bonn, Speyer, and Mainz. The bishops had prepared their remarks, some of which were *in extenso* and touched on many subjects in addition to morals and morale — even to protests against various ordinances and the appointment of officials. Just why these conferences have been arranged it is difficult to find out, though Tirard is willing to accept the responsibility for them. Wine and cake were served this morning and tea this afternoon after the sessions.

March 3. Yesterday there was a continuation of the conference whereat the newspaper men of the occupied territory were heard from 11 A.M. until about 2. The chief

speaker was the director of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. But when it was a question of continuance of black soldiers in the occupied territory or a diminution of the effectives of the occupying forces, they were informed that these were political questions and that the conferences were called particularly to discuss matters that might be handled by the Commission and would tend to ameliorate conditions of the occupation. In the afternoon the heads of the Protestant churches were called in and were told that the question of black troops and the size of the forces on the Rhine were political questions over which the Commission had no jurisdiction. Tirard handled the conferences very well and his knowledge of German surprised me.

A letter from March concerning my recommendations, which were contrary to the ordered reductions, says that the whole matter of the American forces on the Rhine will be thrashed out by Congress after the 4th of March and that in the mean time the Department had confidence in my handling the situation satisfactorily.

CHAPTER IX

THE HARDING ADMINISTRATION

Europe in a state of tension — The sanctions — Stormy argument over administration of customs — The Upper Silesian plebiscite — First instructions from Secretary Hughes — Secretary of War demands release of Naef and Zimmer — American Legion warned against becoming a political machine — Luxembourg's claims against the United States — Marshal Franchet d'Esperey — Pershing reported to have been offered ambassadorship to France — An "unliftable" little boxer — Luxembourg claims settled — New American citizens conceived out of wedlock.

March 4, 1921. To-day is *Mi-Carême*, and the whole of Europe is in a tense political state as a result of the *impasse* at the London Conference. What may be the policy of the incoming Harding Administration is now uppermost in the minds of every one here. Even in our Commission session to-day this tense state was noteworthy. Von Starck would have been removed without a hearing except for my attitude toward him based on the principle that every accused should be heard before being sentenced.

I sat with the Commission both this morning and afternoon, and, besides preventing the summary suspension of von Starck, I was also able to prevent the reëstablishment of control posts in all the zones. This would have been a retrogression in our policy here instead of a progression. The Commission has decided to give von Starck a hearing and has annulled its decision regarding the control posts. It was finally agreed that a letter should be written to von Starck that if Germans escape through the occupied territory into the unoccupied territory and are not delivered within a reasonable time, the High Commission will take such action as it may deem necessary, even to having von Starck removed and control posts reëstablished. A moral victory has been secured and one that will, in my opinion, be eventually of much value to all concerned.

The counter-proposals in London have been totally re-

fused by Germany and the political atmosphere has again become greatly charged.

March 6. The French troops are moving north through our zone to be nearer the towns of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort, which they propose to occupy unless Germany gives a satisfactory answer. The sending of four battalions of the British troops to Upper Silesia has left very few in the Cologne zone. The tension in Europe continues very high, and it is difficult to say whether in this present trouble the question of the establishment of an independent Rhine state is contemplated as an early measure. Perhaps that thought was in mind when the Commission was so insistent on the reëstablishment of posts of control for circulation in all the zones.

March 7. All day long reports have been coming in relative to the decision at London, at times favorable to a settlement; again unfavorable. To-night while dining with Hendricks he received a phone message from Colonel Herring, assistant chief of staff at Mainz, saying that orders of which copies had been sent me would be put into effect at midnight. To-night on return from this dinner a few minutes ago, Hutchinson came in to say that Coleman had phoned down the hour as midnight and that he was leaving Mainz with General Degoutte for the Duisburg district. All along I have been of the opinion that an agreement would be reached, and am surprised at the turn events have taken. In the end this will probably not be advantageous for France and certainly not for Germany.

Robertson tells me that he had wired his Foreign Office as to the disaster that would await the Rhine Province were it converted into a separate state. He is very apprehensive that such a move may be under consideration. According to him, it would be another Austria. How could it survive as an independent state if the revenues of Germany were converted to reparations? If not, what would be its future as a protectorate of France?

March 8. When the sanctions were ordered at London, the German delegation left and the occupation of Düssel-

dorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort took place in accordance with the operations order sent me. The French, Belgians, and British are participating. We had an interesting session of the High Commission this morning when instructions of Lloyd George as President of the Supreme Council were received and read. They provide for the establishment of customs posts along the Rhine and the bridgeheads for export and import taxes as well as the taking over by the Reparations Commission of the customs houses on the western frontier of the Rhineland. The determination and collection of the Rhine taxes are to be carried out by the High Commission. I explained to the Commission how delicate this made my position, and expressed doubt as to what I could do under these new conditions. A later telegram to Robertson said these sanctions are penalties and provisional, and left the impression that Germany would soon "come to book." Rolin said his information was identical, but Tirard had none such. I asked what the Commission thought the customs establishment meant as an eventuality for the Rhine Province. Tirard attempted an answer while disclaiming that he knew of any ulterior motives connected with the matter. I made it clear that an answer was important for me in forming an estimate of the situation to be sent in reports to Washington. Rolin told me he was much opposed to seeing the Rhineland a separate state under French control or influence. The Commission drafted a reply to Lloyd George in which it assumed that the newly occupied territory, the Duisburg bridgehead, would fall under its jurisdiction.

The Commission is considerate of my views and fully cognizant of the difficulties of my position. I also cabled the War Department, giving an account of the military phase of the new policy. It is reported to-night that the German Ambassadors at London, Paris, and Brussels have been called to Berlin.

March 9. There was a lull in the Commission to-day, as Tirard went to Paris, Rolin to Aix-la-Chapelle to consult Ruoquoy, and Robertson is in bed with a cold.

The first telegram thus far received over the signature of the new Secretary of State Hughes arrived in code today and contained no directions further than to be kept fully informed. A report from Coleman, who accompanied General D. to Düsseldorf and arrived here with him this evening, reveals serious defects in motor transport and communications of all sorts, including liaison on the part of the French, Belgian, and English; in fact, such an absence of efficiency as to cause me great surprise.

March 10. Cabled the State Department, giving a statement of the manner of occupation and a report of the Bernsdorff interview with von Simons at Aix. Von Simons says that Lloyd George thought the Germans were going to agree, and that he was very much peeved when he learned the contrary.

March 12. I attended the session this morning at Robertson's house, and saw him, after winning his case against Tirard, surrender completely, in spite of the fact that he had Rolin's and my backing. There was a sharp discussion over the *Comité Directeur* of three, charged with the administration of the new customs. Tirard wanted a Frenchman to be president of the committee. The compromise was that in important matters all three, British, Belgian, and French, would sign. I fully explained my position again, and told the Commission that my Government had given me no instructions, and if I permitted the establishment of customs posts in the American zone they would be posts of more than one nationality; and that I would surrender no authority granted under Armistice conditions.

March 13. Robertson proposes a strong tariff wall on the Rhine front to bring such punishment to the Rhineland as will cause Germany to come to terms. This worried me lest there had been a change of policy by the Commission. However, at dinner to-night at Tirard's for the Governor of the Saar Region, "President of the Republic," as T. described him, both T. and Rolin said they oppose Robertson's views. That was a great relief to me because such a policy would react on the commerce of all western nations.

Tirard spoke in very statesmanlike terms, saying that the conference should be magnanimous and should think of the results in fifty to sixty years. The Italian delegate for economic questions, Commendatore Dell' Abadessa, has arrived, but the Commission does not know what his status will be other than that he will participate only in economic questions. In any event he will not be a High Commissioner.

March 15. I dined again to-night with Tirard, who had the Italian as a special guest to meet the Commission. He is a very small man, nearly bald-headed, about fifty years old, whose chief feature is a pronounced but very thin Roman nose. While he speaks French, it is labored, and his arm and shoulder gestures are much used for helping out. When replying to Tirard's toast of welcome, there was almost as much gesture as word.

March 18. General Degoutte arrived with General Weygand from Düsseldorf. Following Degoutte's flattering letter of praise, I believe their principal reason was to greet me, the latter on the part of Marshal Foch. The Marshal has decided to give the bridgehead Duisburg–Düsseldorf to the Belgians, thus putting it under General Ruoquoy. This is a reluctant concession by the French, who will nevertheless retain certain rights of administration of the Kreise and of the customs administration. It is clear that this concession is made to appease the Belgians and that Degoutte is not at all happy about it. There are numerous French customs officials in Coblenz, and Tirard is endeavoring to have them begin work and receive pay, although no reply to the proposed customs plan has been received from the Supreme Council. Tirard's action was a little precipitate in bringing them up from Paris. They are now clamoring for offices for the German customs officials who are to coöperate with the Customs Committee of three. They want twenty-five rooms, and in a crowded city like this, that is much.

The results of the London Conference are, in my opinion, very unfortunate for reparations. It is possible that

they will diminish rather than increase them. The fifty per cent tax to be levied on all imports into Allied states from Germany will prove a boomerang to them by causing Germany to trade more extensively with neutrals and the United States. I sent a cable to the State Department telling of the establishment of a Belgian bridgehead on the Rhine and the perplexities connected with the customs questions, as well as the doubts held by the Commission and Generals Degoutte and Weygand, as to the efficacy of the economic sanctions. Perhaps France will have scored in its desire to have a separate Rhineland.

March 20. This is the plebiscite day for Upper Silesia. It means much for Germany and Poland. My G–2 agent for the Ruhr says the Germans are resolved not to ask for another conference, and that they will permit further occupation in the Ruhr without resistance. They claim the French will not secure by this occupation nearly so much as they offered them at London.

I was at my headquarters as usual this morning, but for the first time since being on the Rhine I failed to go there on Sunday afternoon.

I wrote Ambassador Wallace for his views concerning the effort to have Marshal Foch made a general in the American Army. Weygand wrote me a warm expression of appreciation from Foch for this proposal and the Marshal wrote that following French tradition he could not accept any pay or emoluments.

March 22. The Upper Silesian plebiscite gives Germany a majority of 270,000 out of the total of 1,200,000, and as a result the mark is somewhat strengthened.

Notwithstanding this big majority, under the terms of the Versailles Treaty this vote must be taken in connection with "economic and geographic considerations," and therefore no one may say what will be the fate of Upper Silesia. The Poles are reported to be intent on holding certain parts of Upper Silesia regardless of the voting.

The High Commissioners have gone to Paris to confer with the Allied Governments Council on the customs situ-

ation. To-day I received my first instructions from the State Department sent by Secretary Hughes, and these are in conformity with my action of several days ago.

March 23. After a very partial and highly indecorous procedure, the Baden trial results in giving Naef fifteen months and Zimmer six months. I shall send Bagby to Berlin to-morrow to request the German authorities to release these men as soon as practicable in accordance with their promise.

March 24. I have written again to Prime Minister Reuter, President of the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, urging the renunciation of claims, official and private, against the United States, by reason of our renunciation of the German railway and railway material valued at sixteen million francs which we turned over to his government, as well as our equities arising from driving the Germans out of the territory and maintaining order therein over a period of many months.

March 26. The conferences continue at Paris, but no instructions have yet been given by the Supreme Council for the proposed customs plan.

A cable from the Secretary of War directs me to cease negotiations for the delivery of Naef and Zimmer and to request their immediate release as an urgent matter; to wire my actions and to keep the Department apprised of events as they occur. This telegram is unusual:

> The Secretary of War directs that you bring to a conclusion your negotiations for the release of Zimmer and Naef by making formal application to the proper German authorities for their immediate release. You should impress upon the German Goverment that the matter is urgent. Report by cable action taken by you and developments as they occur.

This cable indicates to me that our Government, having no direct channel of communication with the German Government at Berlin, charges me, as Commander of an Occupying Force in war-time, to execute its wishes. It seems to have left the manner of doing this to me, and, in spite of the earnestness and summary intention of the cable, neither

request nor *demand* appears in it. It is, indeed, a question as to who are the proper German authorities, whether it should be the Reichskommissar, who is here, the Chancellor, or the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This cable came as a great surprise and evidently shows that the Bergdoll case is assuming a strong political phase in the States. After very careful consideration I drafted a letter which I have directed Bagby to take to Berlin to-morrow and present in person to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Tauffliebs arrived from Paris this afternoon and are stopping at the house. We had a dinner for them which included the Rousselliers and the Duchess of Croy.

March 27. The assistant to the Reichskommissar, von Brandt, and Kuhlenthal, the bridgehead officer, have been keeping the wires to Berlin warm since Bagby let the latter know unofficially of the contents of my note to von Simons, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Berlin is now sending a representative of the Chancellor and of the Minister of Justice to Karlsruhe to urge the Baden Government to release the prisoners. It also asks that the note be not sent until the results of their visit are known. The Berlin Foreign Office claims that the Central Government has no jurisdiction over such cases in Baden, and that it must therefore depend on the good-will of the Government of that state. That is not exactly in accord with what Dr. Albert told Manton Davis. I replied that, unless the men were released by the time my staff officer, Bagby, reached Berlin to-morrow, the note must be delivered. Bagby left at four o'clock via Cologne, with instructions to inform Mr. Dresel that, in my opinion, a conference at Washington had decided that the matter should be handled wholly as a measure through military channels, and that in case he, Dresel, declined to help, Bagby in uniform should go directly to the Foreign Office and deliver the letter in person. I am sure this undiplomatic procedure will shock him. Why the Germans have been thus slow in releasing these men is strange, and it demonstrates again a mistaken psychological estimate of the situation.

March 28. Bagby phoned from Berlin that he, Dresel, and Davis thought I should send the same note through the Spanish Embassy in Berlin, and that he, Bagby, was to see von Haniel at five o'clock. The assumption is that the Berlin Government is going to insist on that channel, even if we are still at war. While not approving the idea except as an additional measure for securing immediate action, I drafted a letter of transmittal and sent an officer off to Berlin with it. In the mean time Bagby phoned again that he had seen von Haniel, who received the letter and promised to reply to-morrow, still declaring that the Reich Government has no jurisdiction in the case. If the German Government had been more prudent, they would have released these men long since, rather than have waited to be forced.

March 30. Major Bagby has received from von Haniel a written reply enclosing this memorandum:

Foreign Office. A pardon and release of the Americans Naef and Zimmer are exclusively a matter of the Baden Government. The Central Government, however, immediately after the sentence of these two, applied to the Baden Government for the pardon of the condemned men. The Prime Minister at Baden also promised to urge their pardon before the Baden Cabinet. The Central Government has to-day asked the Baden Government to expedite this matter in the above-mentioned sense.

BERLIN, 20 *March*, 1921.

The German Government was therefore exerting earnest efforts to release these men, when my communication was delivered.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs kindly asks that damages be awarded the girl who was shot in the hand and that I release one more German prisoner in this zone in consideration of what he was doing. I replied that these matters would be taken under consideration, and telegraphed the status to the War Department. This probably closes the incident except so far as Bergdoll and the damages are concerned.

April 2. Von Bernsdorff came about noon to say that the release of Naef and Zimmer was delayed pending the

demand of the Baden Government for 100,000 marks for Lina Rupp, who was shot in the hand; he also intimated that the Central Government is powerless. He was informed in unequivocal terms that the demand for the release of those prisoners was made on the Central Government and not on Baden, and that I would not even discuss any damages until the prisoners were released. I suggested that he proceed at once to get Berlin on the phone and inform the authorities exactly what I had told him. It would seem to me that the German Government would make good this small sum of 100,000 marks and release the prisoners without waiting for any further rebuffs.

The marriage of General Sladen's niece, Frances Bradley, to his aide, Captain Chickering, took place in the Palace chapel, followed by a reception at the Sladen house.

April 3. The prisoners were released at five o'clock yesterday and reached here at three o'clock this morning. This I cabled the War Department, and the matter is closed except as to the damages claimed for the accidental wounding of the girl.

From the two released prisoners, whom I had in my office this morning, I learned that Lina Rupp's hand was behind Bergdoll and was pierced by the same bullet that went through his shoulder.

A delegation of members from the Paris and our local Legion called on me this afternoon to learn whether they could get money from this command for the Paris Post, and how it could best be done. It is claimed that so many demands are made on the Paris Post for stranded soldiers from this command that we should come to their rescue. I called attention to the importance of the fine creed of the American Legion and expressed the hope that it would be a guide and a deterrent to the Legion becoming an enormous political machine after the manner of the G.A.R.

April 5. Work on the sport field, toward improving the racing facilities, polo grounds, and golf course, continues, and many evergreen trees have been planted; they add much to the appearance of that barren field. Baron de

Waha from Luxembourg stopped off to call on me on his return from Brussels, where his Government has been holding *pourparlers* relative to an economic union with Belgium. He is Minister of Agriculture, of Prévoyance Sociale, and also Chargé d'Affaires in Washington. He stated that Luxembourg "owed its independence to the United States"; that the American Army drove the Prussian (*sic*) soldiers out of his country; that now the Grand Duchy must depend upon Washington for its integrity.

April 6. Just four years ago President Wilson signed the bill declaring that the strength of the United States would be used to bring about the defeat of Germany, a number of months after he had given utterance to the thought of "peace without victory." Our reputed new foreign policy appears this morning in the *Amaroc* in a telegram from Washington dated April 5: — complete rejection of the Versailles Treaty including the Covenant; the Knox Resolution declaring peace; negotiations with the co-belligerents should the peace of Europe be threatened; declaration that the United States stands with the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and for making reparations to the full extent of her ability; negotiations with England and Japan to effect a reduction in armament; and a proposal for an association of nations.

April 7. Mr. Wallace and Colonel Mott are here. I think the Ambassador felt that he might have a successor (Mr. Herrick) designated at an early date and that he should come up now, even if for only a day.

William Phillips, our Minister to The Hague and Luxembourg, called me up on the phone from the latter place yesterday, especially to speak of the claims against us by the Luxemburgers, which I am directed to settle and which have been under discussion for several weeks. The Luxembourg authorities have presented a claim of five million francs against us.

Robertson tells me that the German Government has informed its officials that if they take service under Allied authority in the customs service they will lose their pen-

sions. If true, that will produce another hiatus in the establishment of these posts.

April 8. Accompanied Mr. Wallace to see the artillery in Coblenz-Lützel and the machine-gunners at Ehrenbreitstein, where for the first time he saw a machine gun in action at short range. Tirard invited us for luncheon.

It has developed that the study of European conditions by the new administration has shown that the troops on the Rhine cannot be moved out so quickly as believed, and that a decision must be held in abeyance.

April 11. Von Starck came to my headquarters this morning to see me relative to damages to be paid Lina Rupp. It seems that the differences between the Central Government and the Baden Government have become acute over this matter, largely due to the assurance by the former that "General Allen is a gentleman and will pay." The most I have ever promised is that the case will be taken under consideration.

I took up the matter of the surrender of Bergdoll, advising von Starck that as B. is a deserter and an escaped convict, there could be no political offense to plead in bar of his surrender, and that if he were surrendered now it would avoid any such note as was recently sent to his Government.

April 12. Marshal Franchet d'Esperey arrived from Mainz by boat at eleven o'clock. He is just what his pictures show him, a compact Frenchman with a strong face and round head and the line of the forehead almost a prolongation of that of his nose. His ears are small, and just below them the jaws are prominent and well rounded. His entire physiognomy indicates physical strength and endurance. The entire 2d Brigade was brought in and was inspected and reviewed by him. He seemed much impressed. His presence on the Rhine is said to be for the purpose of inspecting the colonial troops. I gave him a stag luncheon of twenty-six covers and made a little speech of welcome in French. Tirard told me that the Marshal never tried to make any speeches, and that there-

fore at his dinner there would not even be a toast for him.

Minister Phillips and his wife arrived later. Jeannette had arranged a ladies' luncheon for her. Phillips feels that my letter to the Luxembourg Government was a little severe, as I know it was, but it was written with the intention of bringing about a counter-proposal which would be more equitable. I told him I would consent to the payment of the individual claims, but that the Government claims of about 4,800,000 francs should be canceled because of our concession to them. This concession having been made already, we are left without much of a weapon save that of ineffective equity. It is quite amusing that Phillips should, in a measure, be an advocate of their claims. Finally I agreed that, on his return to-morrow to Luxembourg, he should inform that Government that I would settle on the basis of 1,500,000 francs for the Government claims and 500,000 francs for the private claims.

April 13. My birthday was heralded this morning by the band playing in the garden. The Phillipses and I went to see the artillery firing and later the machine-gunners. Both were greatly impressed. At luncheon Mr. Robertson made a happy toast in behalf of my sixty-second birthday, and a fine loving-cup, presented by my four aides, was filled with champagne and passed around.

Mangin asks me for a copy of my report on the negro troops in the French zone, and, though part of it was given out by the State Department, I think best not to comply with his request. These new colored troops, Malagaches, are called negroids on account of having some Malay blood, but most of them are black as the blackest and their standard of civilization is in general low.

Yesterday Mr. Brevoort, of New York, arrived here with a letter from General Pershing, *en route* to Berlin on business. He said Pershing was absolutely offered the ambassadorship to France which he would have liked, but which he could not accept on account of the expense involved. He also said that Pershing had been offered the

chairmanship of the board of directors of a big company at $75,000 (*sic*) per year. I took him, Arnold Robertson, and Colonel Hess to the boxing contest where Johnnie Coulon exhibited both as a boxer and as the "unliftable" man. As Johnnie was boxing instructor of my division at Camp Travis, he was brought to my office by Chaplain McNally and Pat Brannon. He was anxious to demonstrate his remarkable gift which scientists thus far cannot explain. With one of his hands on my pulse at the wrist and one at my neck near the carotid gland, I could not budge him, but when his hands were taken off, I could easily lift the bantam boxer. He says he does not understand it, but that he makes plenty of money from his performance.

April 15. Generals Pouydraguin and Fénélon called to-day. The latter was chief of Poincaré's military household and will have command of the 33d Corps now commanded by his traveling companion, in case of an advance into the Ruhr.

A reply from the Luxembourg Government makes a concession of only 400,000 francs. The French press is full of what will be done to Germany in case she does not respond to the requirements of the Versailles Treaty by May 1st. Briand's language is extensively quoted, "Germany will be taken by the neck." France's financial necessity and her fear make her insistent on forcing Germany while she may; and Germany's efforts to rehabilitate herself and escape reparations react unfavorably everywhere. America's newly defined attitude toward reparations is a blow to Germany.

April 18. To-day came another letter from the Luxembourg Government, taking off 500,000 francs after the other reduction, just after I had mailed the letter expressing an unwillingness to compromise on the previous proposal. Phillips seems to be strongly of the opinion that no further reduction should be made, and I am therefore accepting their last proposition, once more demonstrating to the European countries the generosity of treatment that could hardly be expected from any other country.

I drafted a letter to the War Department relative to the large number of soldiers marrying German girls, in which I request a return to my former policy of permitting only soldiers above Class 4 to marry, regardless of circumstances. Under the present policy we shall have many marriages and a considerable number of new American citizens conceived out of wedlock. We have at present three hundred soldiers with German wives and some with babies, under orders for home. Our transportation facilities are strained by such numbers.

A letter from Tirard to-day assures me that the new battalions of Madagascan negroes are ordered into the Rhineland temporarily to guard property while the '21 class gets its training. It might be advantageous to France in the long run, in spite of the shortage of her own sons and her abundance of African soldiers, to send only French troops to the Rhine.

April 19. I am sending to the library at Harvard quite a collection of books bearing on the war and papers bearing on the Third Army and the American forces in Germany.

The customs posts became effective at midnight last night. It is beginning to appear that France wants to occupy the Ruhr regardless of the proposals and promises of Germany. The ceremonies connected with the burial of the Empress Augusta at Potsdam show that there are still many monarchists in this country. The Reparations Commission must make known to Germany by May 1st what must be paid, and, as the interval is very short, Lloyd George and Briand are very busy. The opinions of the two countries represented by these two men seem to be decisions, and thus far they have been largely exercising the functions of the Reparations Commission.

CHAPTER X

RUMBLINGS ON THE RUHR

Seizure of German coal deposits in Ruhr Basin is contemplated by the French — Germans ask Harding to act as mediator of reparations — English oppose the Ruhr occupation — The centenary of Napoleon's death — Germany accepts terms — Teuton troubadours celebrate Whitsuntide — Bedlam continues in Upper Silesia — Inspection of Düsseldorf — Germany forbids chemists to leave the country — Memorial Day ceremonies at Suresnes Cemetery — Dinner with Foch — Tilden and Lenglen play tennis — French Art Exhibition at Wiesbaden — "Blue Devils" inspected and reviewed at Duisburg — At the Grand Ducal Palace with General Degoutte — American Chamber of Commerce banquet in Paris.

April 21, 1921. A very important French general, obsessed with an idea, states that, unless Germany is further crippled by dismemberment and by seizure of her coal deposits in the Ruhr, she will make a campaign against France within five years. It is a fact that, if France were left unaided, it would not be long before Germany would avenge the attitude adopted toward her since the Armistice. This does not mean that Germany is faultless, for the century-old feud has lost none of its bitterness by the recent victory. He refers to the much-talked-of subject during the treaty conference of signing treaties with the separate German states, thus isolating Prussia. Had that been done, it would have weakened Prussian domination.

Coleman brought down outlines of the studies with maps made for the proposed occupation of the Ruhr. I am very appreciative of General Degoutte's consideration in keeping me abreast of these proposed plans, which it is hoped may never have to be carried out. I am cabling the State Department that such an occupation would prevent any restoration to normal conditions for a long period.

April 22. This morning I had a staff conference at which Coleman commented on the various map problems that had been recently held in Mainz. The Commanding General of the Allied Forces has made inquiries of the

High Commission relative to his authority to requisition horses, trucks, and autos as well as to declare martial law in the occupied territory. Everything indicates that nothing is being left undone that may be necessary in case of occupation. The troops that will hold the Ruhr and that will advance east from Mainz have all been selected and proper plans for them have been made. Presumably our Government, while not desiring such moves, has nothing to say in connection with the matter; at least, I am acting on that policy.

Dresel and Miles were brought down from Cologne this morning by Longstreet and are now in the house. The most extraordinary development in the German crisis was made known to-day when Germany's note to our Government, given two days ago to Dresel, was made public. It asked President Harding to serve as mediator or arbiter in the matter of reparations, declaring it would faithfully abide by every detail of the result. The note is signed by Fehrenbach and Simons. The reply of the United States is that Germany must make proposals of guarantees, and that the United States is anxious to see an agreement reached for the welfare of the entire world. The publication of our reply to the German Government is being followed up by a meeting between Lloyd George and Briand, and, as no further word has come from Germany, and as the Entente has said nothing, we are undergoing another tense moment here.

April 25. The question of the occupation of the Ruhr takes precedence over all others. England is showing that she is not in sympathy with France in this matter, and it now seems to me that the chances of a new conference with Germany are good. Perhaps my wish is father to the thought, for I can see only calamity in further advances, and an indefinite prolongation and aggravation of the present perturbed state in Europe.

Tirard brings back word from Paris that the Supreme Council thinks of having the High Commission administer the Ruhr Basin in case of occupation and asks that a

study be made here of the matter. He thinks it may be necessary for the Commission to go to Paris or London to confer with the Supreme Council. Although the Rhineland Agreement makes this institution independent, it continues to receive orders and instructions from the Supreme Council. Regardless of what my note sent two days since to Washington may contain, the French are intent on the occupation of the Ruhr and will be restrained only by the attitude of the United States. England has gone as far in this restraint as she can without increasing the friction with France. Briand has the French Parliament with him and the people are clamoring for German money or its equivalent.

April 29. The proposals made to Washington by Germany are not considered sufficiently satisfactory to permit President Harding to transmit them to the Allies as a basis for further consideration. It seems that Ambassadors Geddes, Jusserand, and de Cartier have been informed of their nature. Perhaps Germany will yet make acceptable proposals.

May 1. In Paris again. I conferred with Wallace at the Embassy in the afternoon, when he stated that I was about the only man in Europe with whom he could think aloud. He thinks that the present Ministry will find itself in a precarious state if it fails to get what it is now demanding in the way of reparations and possibly also should there be a failure to occupy the Ruhr.

May 2. The conference continues at London and considerable bitterness has developed between the English and French. The Italians are with the former and the Belgians reluctantly with the latter. The English are opposed to the Ruhr occupation, but the French are insistent upon it as a *sine qua non* for any promises Germany may make. The compromises effected defer the occupation to May 12th, and the terms agreed upon by the Reparations Commission are accepted as those to be imposed upon Germany. In the mean time the class of 1919 has been called out. The United States maintains a guarded silence, but

the press indicates it is in sympathy with the attitude of England.

May 3. A little shopping this morning, lunch at 70 boulevard Victor Hugo with the Tauffliebs, and dinner with Hyde featured the day.

The United States has refused point-blank to serve as arbitrator or mediator as Germany requested, but has counseled her to communicate directly with the Allies. The French in official circles are wrought up over the London Conference and speak of affairs there as meaning "life or death to France."

May 5. This morning I accompanied Ambassador Wallace to the ceremony at the Arc de Triomphe for the centenary of Napoleon's death. The glorification of Napoleon has probably been intensified by reason of the German situation, and I must confess that appearances this morning were decidedly militaristic. The President of the Republic and the diplomatic corps were present, and Barthou made an impressive speech, though not too well delivered, close to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. I spoke to Marshals Foch, Pétain, and Fayolle, and to Generals Mangin, Debeney, Buat, Berdoullat, Weygand, and Rascas. Lord Hardinge told me that the French would go into the Ruhr whether or not the Germans accepted the ultimatum. That is significant, but I do not believe it.

There was also a ceremony at the Invalides at five o'clock when the crypt of the tomb was opened and Marshal Foch made a speech. In the march-by of the troops at the Arch, it was clear that they did not compare with ours in point of neatness and smartness.

May 6. I brought James Douglas up from Paris with me and found J. looking well after her long southern journey. Douglas is one of those Americans whose sentiment for France makes him see only virtues in her and only vileness in Germany. The preparation for going into the Ruhr continues.

May 9. The haggling in Berlin would seem to leave doubt as to whether Germany will accept the ultimatum.

Von Bülow, Stresemann, and Mayer each is talked of as successor to Fehrenbach. The English strike continues, while at home there is a struggle to lower wages.

At last the Germans have accepted all the terms proposed. Wirth has been made Chancellor, and thus much of the great tension that has existed for the past ten days is relieved. News has arrived that Foch has stopped all movements toward the Ruhr and that no further reinforcement from France will come up. I am delighted over the outcome. The mark rose from 66 to 62 before the results were made public, and it is certain that if a sincere agreement be decided on there will be a rise in both marks and francs.

May 12. To-day the polo was good and the boxing at Liberty Hut exceptionally so. Although it is decided not to occupy the Ruhr, French troop movements continue in that direction and apparently the 1919 class will be retained in service. The Germans promise compliance with all the terms demanded, but the French have not great confidence and Briand feels that his Government is in danger unless he keeps up an aggressive attitude.

Both francs and marks continue to rise and a beginning seems to have been made toward normality, but the Upper Silesian dispute has assumed almost the proportions of a war. Pershing has been made Chief of Staff and Harbord Assistant. That is a fine solution of the question and will give us a superior military direction, as well as make Pershing a real general of the armies, which the Congressional enactment alone could not do.

The death of Mr. Claude Calthrop, British General Secretary of the High Commission, is a most regrettable loss. The Commissioners and myself sent large floral pieces.

I played six chukkas of fast polo yesterday in our effort to give our principal team some fast experience before it starts for Cologne, where it plays against the 14th Hussars.

May 15. The Whitsuntide holidays are fully enjoyed by the Germans who at this time indulge in troubadour tours

over the country. An exposition, Heimatsausstellung, is being held in the Kaiser's Palace.

The funeral of Calthrop took place in the Palace chapel to-day. A great quantity of flowers had been sent. The wreaths from the various heads of the Commission, showing the nationality of the sender, were each carried by two soldiers of the respective countries.

A cablegram from the War Department transfers Colonel Hay to the General Staff and assigns him as my chief of staff to relieve General Johnston. The latter remains here, and, as long as he does, I shall give him general supervision over all field training with authority to act in all matters pertaining thereto. Consul-General Thackera arrived to-day from Paris and is our guest. For his seventy years he is exceptionally robust.

May 17. The Upper Silesian question continues so acute that the mark has slumped to 57. The United States has not expressed any opinion, and it now seems as though it will let England and France fight it out. There was reported a bitter attack on Korfanty and Poland in the House of Commons by Lloyd George, who it was said favored Germany being authorized to use force in Upper Silesia.

The polo team that I am sending to compete at Cologne, composed of Andrews, Herr, Tate and Higley, is one of the best army teams I have seen. The jumping team, composed of Downer, Harry, Hutchinson, and Devine, left for Brussels to-day, whence the two former will go to Lausanne as United States representatives for equestrian sports in the Olympic conference.

We dined at the Bartons', and when leaving his house, he closed the automobile door on the third and fourth fingers of my right hand, badly smashing one of them.

May 21. We went up to Cologne this morning for the races, taking Mr. Thackera with us and lunching with General Morland. There were two open classes as usual, a steeplechase and a flat race. Through our stupidity our horses were carrying excessive weights, and yet Prince Charming came in second in the flat race.

THE HUNT

General Morland expects to send a British contingent for Upper Silesia from his forces here and anticipates official instructions any hour. Press reports indicate that Colonel Harvey has been directed to represent the United States unofficially in the discussions of the Supreme Council bearing on Upper Silesia. It is almost self-evident that, had our forces gone to the Upper Silesian plebiscite area, there would have been no such bedlam as exists there now. A solution could be made by the United States, but it is doubtful whether Mr. Harding will consent to use our influence and prestige in a matter which Mr, Hughes has designated as a European question. Our new Ambassador in England, in a speech before the Pilgrims' Society, denounces in drastic terms the League of Nations, in which he said the United States would never participate.

May 23. We lunched with Tirard to-day to meet the aldermen and other officials of Paris who are touring the Rhine. The *Président des Counseillers* (quasi mayor) was among the number. Paris is the only city or town in France that has no *maire*.

May 24. With Hendricks and Sumner I left at 8.30 for Düsseldorf, stopping at Bonn for General Pouydraguin, who accompanied me from that city. At the west end of the big bridge we were met by General Ferraud, commanding the cavalry corps, where General Morland joined us. We then crossed the Rhine where a battalion of *Chasseurs Alpins* was drawn up to render honors. Although these troops have been trained only two months, their marching was very good. We lunched with General Ferraud. Düsseldorf is a beautiful, modern city with a population, including the suburbs, of 400,000, and it is growing very fast. Its broad streets, extensive parks, gardens, and modern buildings are impressive. After luncheon we crossed the same bridge back to the west bank of the river, mounted our horses, and proceeded to the troops drawn up on the flat ground along the river immediately above the bridge. This cavalry corps consists of three divisions, each of three brigades, each of two regiments, each of four squadrons,

plus a regiment of artillery, armored cars, machine guns, and tanks. Of the nine brigades, five were present. This was one of the largest bodies of cavalry I have ever seen. The horses were in good condition and the show in general was excellent. As to the personal appearance of the men and the cleanliness of the material, these troops are far behind ours, but they are field-ready. We carried up our own saddle kits, but horses were furnished there. General Blacque-Bellair provided me a specially handsome animal resembling my own charger, Melville. There was a very long march-by, with the cavalry in column of fours and the vehicles in file. The two hours required for that could easily have been reduced by half by simply using platoon fronts. At Camp Travis I was able to start from my bungalow, ride to my division, ride around it, then pass it in review, and return within an hour. In spite of the size of their forces to-day there were only 4000 sabers present.

May 25. Colonel Repington called on me to get my views with respect to the present European condition and America's relations thereto. Although I had known him years ago when he was Military Attaché in Brussels, I was guarded in my conversation, knowing that perhaps what I said would be given publicity.

Briand's speech in the Chamber yesterday was more conciliatory than was expected, but the session to-day will tell whether or not he will fall. Poincaré stands ready to replace him, but it is questionable whether he would have the sympathy of the United States or England by reason of his strong views on what Germany must do for France. Some of the French think their country will never get much in the way of reparations, and that, while she may, she should take such steps as will permanently weaken Germany and get what is now available. Naturally that would throw Europe into greater chaos than exists now.

Bouvet is here on behalf of Duponts, in the interests of having German dye experts go to the United States. Fearing lest foreign countries get their secrets, Germany

has passed a law forbidding certain kinds of chemists from leaving the country.

The first war criminal, a sergeant, accused of cruelty to English prisoners, has been tried at Leipzig under the provisions of the Treaty and given a sentence of two years. The present German Government seems to be trying hard to show its good faith, but it is not natural or even human to think that a country can, in good faith, prosecute its own defenders in its struggle for existence, regardless of the righteousness of its cause.

I had the race representatives for lunch to-day for the purpose of giving them such instructions as should prevent any foolish measures similar to our mistakes in the last Cologne meeting.

May 29. We left Coblenz yesterday and had on the train with us the Italian Delegate, Dell' Abadessa, the Johnstons, and Mrs. Sladen. We arrived in Paris at the usual disagreeable hour of six this morning. After conducting Mrs. Sladen to her destination, I came on to Hyde's house with my aide, where we are now. At 10.30 we attended a very imposing church service, where my headquarters band played the French, English, and American national airs. From there we proceeded to the Arc de Triomphe, Mr. Wallace and I together, where a considerable Franco-American ceremony was staged, including a short address by the Ambassador and the laying of wreaths on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. We lunched with Madame Taufflieb at a Franco-American repast including Bunau-Varilla, Fred Allen, Mrs. Campbell, and others. In the afternoon we went to tea with the St. Pauls at the Polo Club and saw several periods of mediocre play. To Villa Trianon at Versailles to see Elsie de Wolfe, whom we found installed in the most delightful and artistic manner. At 8.30 we dined with the Fred Allens at 19 rue Reynaud. There were present Ambassador and Mrs. Wallace, Marshal Fayolle, Mrs. Burke-Roche (whom I took out), Mrs. John Fell, Prince and Princess Lucinge, Mrs. Whitehouse, Colonel

and Mrs. House. Had a long chat with Colonel House after dinner and found our views in remarkable agreement on the European situation.

May 30. We started for the Suresnes cemetery from the Embassy at 11.30. There the whole staging was well done, including the disposition of the French troops and our own sent down from Coblenz. The Ambassador made the first speech, and a very good one it was; then followed Marshal Pétain and I.

We lunched at the Embassy *en famille*, and had considerable talk with Mr. Wallace, who feels that possibly he should have made plans for leaving here June 1st instead of July 1st. Mrs. Wallace has made an exceptionally fine Ambassadress. After luncheon we went out to St.-Cloud to see the tennis tournament, where Tilden beat the Spaniard Alonzo, but Lenglen was not there to-day.

May 31. This morning my first act was to go to 7 rue Tilsit to see Boyden, Logan, and Winship of our Reparations Committee. It is the first time I have met Boyden, a Boston lawyer, with whom I have had considerable correspondence.

At the Embassy tea there were many Americans and a few French. Had quite a talk with Mr. Wallace, who apparently wants me to go to the Philippines as Governor-General. He is decidedly too flattering in his estimation when he says: "Your work is of great importance to Europe and the world."

I dined to-night with Marshal Foch in almost a family party. Besides the Weygands and the L'Hôpitals, there were only Hyde, Sumner, and myself. The Marshal, who returned only yesterday from Bretagne, was in fine vein, and Madame la Maréchale was also most agreeable. He is now living in rue Grendelle in the house occupied until recently by Marshal Pétain as his headquarters. I always enjoy talking with the Marshal, but to-night it was especially satisfactory. We talked of many things, but above all of the attitude of the Germans and their acceptance of the recent ultimatum, of Silesia and its economic and

industrial value, and of his visit to the United States specially to be in Kansas City October 31st at the meeting of the American Legion and in Washington November 11th for the service over the Unknown Dead Soldier. Both he and Weygand told me Pershing is coming over here in September. Both the Marshal and Weygand said that Recouly, in his "Bataille de Foch," had not told all, but what he did tell was true.

June 1. This morning Sumner and I made a few purchases, including a *fantaisie* necklace of matrix emeralds, and later lunched with Boyden and Jimmie Logan at Voisins. Boyden, to my surprise, asked me, "Who is our representative on the High Commission?" When asked how the German bonds are to be made negotiable, he replied, "It can't be done." If that be true, then the French will consider themselves compelled to hold fast to the sanctions as guarantees in addition to the existing treaty guarantees. In the afternoon we went out to see Mlle. Lenglen and other champions at the St.-Cloud tournament. She and Tilden are the specially brilliant stars and should win their respective singles. We took tea with Mrs. Hickox on our way back and dined with Hyde at home. His house is full of servants which presumably he transfers in case of necessity between the city and Versailles. He told me that several Frenchmen had suggested to him that I should call on M. Millerand when in Paris. Madame Marc du Souzy and the Robertsons with their new baby are returning to Coblenz with us on the train to-night.

June 7. Rucker showed me a long letter from Baron de Waha of Luxembourg relative to the acceptance by Parliament of the settlement of the claims against us as a result of the war. That Government got off very well with the two reductions of half a million francs each from their original claims, and it should be thankful to Mr. Phillips that greater reductions were not made. The letter ended by stating that his Government wanted to decorate Peek, Bodeker, and myself at an early date. In my correspond-

ence with Phillips I suggested that it was his services that were specially deserving of recognition.

General Graziani, commanding the corps at Bordeaux, and General Duport, commanding the corps at Châlons, are here.

June 8. This afternoon the third French general, Chappelle, commanding the 1st Corps at Lille, arrived in Coblenz and came for tea.

June 9. General Degoutte at dinner insisted that America's participation by reason of her moral influence would be all-powerful in the present European embroilment; that France would accept whatever the United States declared was right and just; and that France and England cannot agree. He told me he had sent me a French journal advocating me as arbitrator in the Silesian matter, and that he strongly approved the proposition. He wants me to visit Duisburg and Ruhrort.

June 10. Rolin-Jaequemyns came over to see me about several delicate matters connected with the Rhine holding, of which the military and economic sanctions were not the least important. At the present time there are between 70,000 and 80,000 troops in the Aix-la-Chapelle zone occupying most of the school buildings. His views are very sound and the thoughts to which he gives expression are with due consideration for the Franco-Belgian alliance. It would be very advantageous for me to have a conference with Colonel Harvey and it might be useful for him as a member of the Supreme Council.

My agent sent to Silesia has returned and brings back a story supporting the English-Italian side of the controversy raging there. He claims that Silesia is more important than both the Ruhr and Saar as an economic asset, and that France will insist on having the three for herself or for Allied holdings. He says, if France could hold Westphalia, the Ruhr, and the Saar, and could have her Polish ally control Silesia, her purpose would be temporarily achieved, and Germany's restoration temporarily thwarted. With her troops now in the Cologne area replacing the British

ones sent to Silesia, France has soldiers everywhere along the Rhine from the mountains nearly to the sea, except for our holding.

June 11. J. and I have come to Wiesbaden for the opening of the French Art Exhibition in the Palace of the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg and to see the finals of the Olympiad staged by the French Army. In the latter the French won by one point; their score was 79 and ours 78. The British and Belgians were well behind. The French got nine points in fencing, and there we did not compete. Our representatives have not been favorably impressed with the French idea of fair play in sport. One of our men, however, won the *Coq Gaulois* for securing the greatest number of points by an individual.

This art exhibition, with two to three hundred guests from Paris, the big dinner given by Tirard, and the *Rheingold* gala performance at the Opera House, all constitute a sort of French glorification on the Rhine. In a way this is a reproduction of what I witnessed here as a guest of the Kaiser in '98; in a way, too, it is an effort on a large scale to exalt the *Haut Commissaire de la République Française dans la Rhénanie.* The dinner took place in the Exhibition Building; following the opera there was a display of troops in the streets just as in 1898. "L'histoire recommence." It is very doubtful whether this effort to show the Rhinelanders French culture will avail much as long as the latter's attitude toward France remains so hostile and as long as France insists on a continuation of the sanctions. The speech made by Tirard under all the circumstances of the setting was most conciliatory, while Bernard's, the Minister of Arts, openly declared the best guarantee of peace to be the presence of Inter-Allied flags on the Rhine. All in all this affair has left the impression that France's indulgence in her Rhineland policy is not in accordance with the Versailles Treaty. Perhaps she is justified. Where is the Tripartite arrangement?

June 13. The Andys and Harrys were at Wiesbaden also yesterday and all of us lunched with Madame du

Souzy at the Kurhaus, then went out to the races, where nearly all of the celebrities of the Paris delegation were. On my return to Coblenz, continued rain prevented the reception in the garden; it was therefore held in my house, and was attended by about three hundred persons. Tirard had a dinner for about forty, a play and some skits by artists brought up from Paris, Bodine and Toulain included, and a platform built for dancing in his garden. I had talks with Loucheur, and of course with Degoutte, who did not want or believe that the sanctions should be lifted, but recognizes the fact that the French, while resisting to the limit in this matter, must conform to the wishes of the Allies, especially the counsel of the United States. Loucheur says that, if the sanctions were lifted, Briand's Cabinet would last about four hours. While the word "annexation" as applied to the Rhine has been eliminated, there is no thought on the part of the French of leaving it.

June 14. Robertson came over this morning and told me of his conversation last night with Loucheur, of the letters he has written to his Government, of the pending visit of Lord Hardinge, and that France is now profiting by England's troubles with the strikers and Ireland. He thinks that, although Briand chided Lloyd George with not having troops in Upper Silesia, he was in reality sorry that the British troops were sent there. He seemed pleased when I told him that quite as much would be done for Lord Hardinge on his arrival here as had been done for any French representative

The French press is giving much space to discussing the conversations between Loucheur and Rathenau and see in them a possible beginning of an economic agreement between the two countries. That causes England to think of France as an industrial power, and it makes Poland talk of some sort of agreement with Italy on the Silesian question based on cheaper coal from the latter.

June 17. The following is authentically reported to have come from the Chief of the Swiss General Staff, who visited our troops here on the Rhine:

The United States troops now at Coblenz, Germany, do not constitute a large army. The force is only 15,000 or so. But it is the most up-to-date, the best-equipped, and the best-looking military outfit that I have ever seen and I think it is probably the most efficient.

The Harrys left to-day for Wiesbaden for the horse-show, J. and Jeannette for London to see the international polo, and I for Duisburg and Ruhrort to see the French holding there. I stopped at Bonn to get General Pouydraguin, who accompanied me. He now has seven divisions under his command, a total of 85,000 men. By making a small détour out to Mulheim, we arrived at noon at the house of General Dilleman who commanded the 47th Division of Chasseurs Alpins which received our 1st Division at Gondrecourt in September, 1917. There were two other generals present, Doucet and Vidalon. The lunch was a banquet and, though somewhat formal, not stiff. I know so many French generals and French people so well that there is little difficulty in feeling at ease on these occasions. Duisburg, a village not many years ago, is now a city of 200,000 and is growing fast. Four battalions of the original division and about one dozen officers who formerly belonged to it were presented for my inspection and review. It was a pleasure to commend the appearance of these troops, whom the Germans called the "Blue Devils." These Alpine battalions are now grouped into service brigades. We inspected the wonderful harbor of Ruhrort, through which about 100,000 tons of shipping passes daily. The extensive system of basins and the manner of discharging coal by tilting the ten-ton coal cars into barges merit a visit. Gravity is used in bringing the loaded cars to the tipple and sending the empty ones back.

June 18. We advanced our luncheon by half an hour in order to witness the end of the relay race from Cochem to Coblenz involving the swimming of the Mosel. The distance was thirty-one miles, and ten organizations had each fifty competitors. The 8th Infantry won in two hours, fifty-four minutes.

Ambassador Wallace writes me that a conference has been arranged between Colonel Harvey and myself. Had this happened a little earlier, I should have been present for the international polo games. Ex-Ambassador Hill arrived at seven o'clock, and is stopping in the house.

June 20. Had a few people in for dinner last night to meet ex-Ambassador Hill, one of whom was Mr. Leishman. I therefore had two ex-Ambassadors to Germany at this dinner. This morning I took Dr. Hill to Wiesbaden for lunch at the Hôtel Rose.

June 21. I left at 10.30 for Bonn with Dr. Hill to lunch with General Degoutte in his car side-tracked at the station, and to witness some experiments with barges for moving heavy artillery and locomotives over the river. The material used, barge bottoms excepted, was constructed in France for the very purpose of crossing the Rhine in case the fate of war permitted. The experiments were highly successful, and in the case of the locomotive a continuous track from approach to center of barge had to be made, while with the 280-cm. gun, a tractor carried the gun to the barge by means of a simple earth and plank ramp. This big howitzer which is fired from its tractor may be coupled directly to an engine tractor or it may be uncoupled and maneuvered by electricity carried through a leather-covered cable. The French have six such guns which they call "Ninette-et-Rintintins," which they really call to mind when the maneuver is done by the leather-covered cable.

We lunched in an old *Speisewagen* with small tables, which General Degoutte has taken as his car. He, Dr. Hill, General Pouydraguin, and myself sat at one of these tables, and during the meal the two generals spoke very frankly their views concerning the Rhine holding, Germany and France. The General is as sincere as he is cordial, but I sometimes wonder whether he knows that the big stakes for which France is now playing is her supremacy on the Rhine. Formerly he said Germany would fall on France's back (*tomber sur notre dos*) within five years, but this time

has now been lengthened to ten. Our lunch was a banquet. Dr. Hill and I dined with the Robertsons.

June 22. Sent Sumner out with the Doctor to show him Ehrenbreitstein, the Fest Halle, Stolzenfels, our sales store, and other American activities. Before he left he read a long letter he had written to Secretary Hughes giving his views concerning European conditions, especially the relations between France, Germany, and the United States. He thinks the prestige that our troops are giving our country abroad is worth the expense and that our work here is on a high plane. The Burlesons called this afternoon. He is a representative of the cotton interests in the United States and has just come from Berlin. He is full of views concerning Germany's economic condition and her capacity to come back.

June 27. With the Sladens, Johnstons, Hays, and Hendricks we left Coblenz this afternoon for a week-end with General Degoutte at the Grand Ducal Palace, in front of which was assembled a battalion of Moroccan troops to render honors. Never have these troops looked so smart and clean as they did to-day. The Harrys joined us here. After tea we went to the opera *Götterdämmerung*, which began promptly at six o'clock and ended at eleven. Between the acts General Degoutte asked us to come out on the balcony to get a breath of fresh air, an unusual thought at that hour. There was a reason, however, for a torchlight procession of troops had been arranged, and one of the combined bands came along, halted in the street, and played "The Star-Spangled Banner." The opera was most enjoyable, but as always I feel that Wagner's principal productions should be shortened by about twenty to twenty-five per cent.

June 26. This is a glorious summer day, and early this morning the fanfares of the victors were heard. The gallicization of the Rhine Valley, where the population is so numerous, vigorous, and German, can hardly be more than surface deep. Frankfurt and Darmstadt have a population of more than 500,000; Mainz, Wiesbaden, and Bie-

berich pass the 350,000 mark; Cologne has about 600,000, Düsseldorf 400,000, Duisburg 200,000, and the Ruhr Basin about 4,000,000.

This morning we attended the *Exposition d'Art Français* at the palace (1707) of the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, loaned by the Grand Duchess for this occasion and greatly improved and added to for the purpose. Part of this exposition is in the Paulinenschloss near the Kurhaus at Wiesbaden. In the former are chiefly paintings and prints; in the latter, Napoleonic furniture and embroideries.

June 27. At four o'clock I went over to the Convent at Arenberg to the funeral of Sister Marie Elisabeth, who used to come to see me about once a month for help for her convent. Other than veiled women and a very few of her family only Sumner and myself were present. It was an odd sight, the cortège from the chapel to the burying grounds of the remains of this dear old nun carried by other nuns.

June 29. I attended the dinner of the Johnstons at the Club given primarily for the Burlesons and the Glasgows. The military attachés and their wives are leaving to-day. Nothing further has been heard from the Luxembourg authorities and their proposal to decorate certain ones of this command. Owing to the *impasse* in which R. finds himself, I think it is just as well that the whole matter be dropped. A cable came to-day saying that my recommendations of D.S.M. for certain officers of the French, Belgian, and English armies have been approved; that probably means that I must make trips to Mainz, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne to bestow them.

June 30. A numerous delegation, called the Guaranty Commission, the heads of which are the second on each State's Reparation Delegation, arrived here from Berlin for a conference with the High Commission. We met at Tirard's and discussed chiefly the application and results of the customs posts and the other sanctions, rather than their abolition, which naturally must be decided by the Supreme Council. The more talk indulged in, the more it

became evident that the sanctions ought to be lifted. Finally I suggested that it might be possible and to the advantage of all the Powers concerned, as well as for the trade of the world, that there be no customs posts and no sanctions. That struck a responsive chord in all but the French. Talking at lunch to Mauclerc, I commended Loucheur's talks with Rathenau. He agreed that the policy was good and that the present Government in Berlin should be supported by all the countries. In Berlin this commission drew up a resolution favored by all the members except the French, lifting the sanctions, which it was decided should be sent to their respective Governments.

The Weeks party arrived this afternoon, but would neither stop at my house nor come to dinner to-night. The Sharps and Davenports were here for dinner.

I had a talk with Hess relative to the best manner of getting what we now can from Germany as payment for our troops of occupation. Thus far we have received from Germany only about twelve per cent of the actual cost, and that is more than any other country has received except France with her twenty-five per cent. Germany has not failed to respond to any requisitions we have made for marks, which, technically speaking, we can exchange for dollars only when the mark is favorable to the fixed mark-dollar rate. However, all the expense of the port of Antwerp is regularly paid by Germany, and we have decided that requisitions may now be made by us against Armistice funds without objections from the Entente.

July 2. Mrs. Weeks, with her son and his wife and her son-in-law, lunched and dined with us to-day. She is a clever woman with much interest in large political affairs.

July 3. With Mr. Leishman and Sumner I left for Cologne at 6.15, dined with General Morland, then played bridge and boarded our train about midnight for Paris.

July 4. We arrived at the Gare du Nord at 12.30 and were met by Mott's automobile and a letter asking me to lunch with the Noonday Club at Restaurant Larue, to which we drove and found the usual assemblage of about

sixteen men. Consul-General Thackera, Elmer Roberts, Charles Grasty, and representative business men were there. A very cordial greeting was extended me and a most appreciative hearing.

To the reception in the garden of the Embassy, where Ambassador and Mrs. Wallace were most cordial and insisted that I receive with them.

After this reception we made a few calls and then returned to the house until the banquet hour at the Hôtel Quai d'Orsay. This dinner was arranged on a larger scale than ever and had more French visitors present than formerly. I escorted Marshal Foch out to dinner and, through him and Marshal Joffre, I toasted the French Army in the third speech of the evening. Walter Berry, President of the Chamber of Commerce, started out with a long speech in French directed against the Germans, a political screed which he knew would please his hearers; and Mr. Wallace in the effort of his life made a speech of similar character, dwelling on the devastation of France and "Germany must pay." The Minister of Commerce and Marshals Joffre and Foch then spoke. Foch referred to me as "Le Général Allen, mon camarade intime." Before saying good-night to me, he said, "Restez sur le Rhin! Je suis tourmenté des bruits qui courent," referring to the reports of our leaving the Rhineland. Presuming from my previous conversations with the Marshal that he would be in Kansas City for October 31st and in Washington November 11th, I did not even mention dates to him. I have since learned that Diaz and Haig are also invited, as though they were on a parity with Foch.

After the banquet I accompanied Mr. Wallace to his house and drank a small part of a bottle of Moët et Chandon, 1900. He said that in writing his speech he was fearful it would not please me, and when he asked my opinion, I confessed it had not. It seems to me that the meetings of this Chamber of Commerce should deal more largely with commerce than with politics and that the remarks made on these occasions leave a wrong sentiment in the minds of

the French regarding the thoughts and feelings of the average American. Wallace says he is worried over the reports of the withdrawal of our troops and the possibility of my leaving Europe, where, he says, " You are doing much good work for the United States and the world." He undoubtedly estimates my services too highly, but in any event he wants me to remain in Europe and to write him two letters after having seen Colonel Harvey, one that he may show and the other purely confidential. He talked most freely about Harvey, Harding, Derby, Hughes, and others, and thinks that if the order has not been issued concerning the troops by the time he reaches Washington, he will be able to head it off.

CHAPTER XI

IN LONDON, PARIS, AND DEAUVILLE

To London to confer with Ambassador Harvey — The State Ball at Buckingham Palace — Impressions of King George, Queen Mary, and Mr. Asquith — Conferences with Ambassador Harvey — Back to Coblenz — A sizzling summer — Tirard's strategy — I drop a "bomb" — Ex-Postmaster-General Burleson — American soldiers engage in summer sports — England and France near parting of the ways — The Supreme Council meetings in Paris — Lloyd George is anxious to hear my views on the sanctions — France yields to American views regarding sanctions — Observations at Deauville — An extremely fashionable bathing, gambling, and racing resort — Poincaré accuses Supreme Council of clandestine diplomacy — Lord Hardinge comes to Coblenz — Luxembourg decorations — Famished Russia.

July 6, 1921. We left Paris at noon to-day for London via Calais and Dover. Being without passports, many questions were asked, but no interference made. As the railway strike is over, we found the train service, with the customary tea, very satisfactory.

Arriving at Victoria Station, I was met by Sir Henry Wilson, Field Marshal and Chief of Staff, in civilian clothes, and Colonel X, who he said would look after me, Jeffreys, and Frank Wiborg. We drove directly to Mr. Wiborg's house. Sarah and her husband, Gerald Murphy, were here for dinner. Sumner has a room not far away.

July 7. We are in a most peculiarly furnished house taken by Frank W. for a couple of months, full of antiquities of doubtful value, at 24 Manchester Square. My coffee came in very late, and I therefore finished dressing late. Going to the Embassy offices, I talked with Solbert, Military Attaché, who tried in vain to get our Councilor on the phone. The Ambassador, who does most of his work at his house, agreed to receive me at 12.30. After waiting half an hour, I was shown in, and found a tall, thin man, about fifty-five years of age, with large Chinese glasses, indifferently garbed, with keen eyes and irregular features. Although he stated that he had known me be-

fore, I had no recollection of having ever seen him. He was glad to learn that the so-called English position concerning the office of the Reichskommissar was primarily ours and not English, and that he could approve it without it being thought among the French that he had been taken into the English camp. He informed me that he is withholding dispatches to Washington on the sanctions and withdrawal of our troops until after conference with me; that he wanted me to be present at the meeting of the Supreme Council, giving me the date which he said even the British Foreign Office did not know. As I made no reply to this, he said, "provided it does not interfere with official or personal plans."

At the luncheon given me by the Army Council at the Savoy Hotel, I was welcomed by the Minister of War, Worthington-Evans, and Field Marshal Wilson. The luncheon was very cordial, and, after the healths of the King and President were drunk, the War Minister and I exchanged short speeches, mine devoted largely to good relations between our countries as a world necessity.

We arrived at Buckingham Palace at 10 P.M., barely in time to see the opening of the first State Ball since the beginning of the war. It was in honor of the King and Queen of Belgium and was a most brilliant sight, equaling those of the Winter Palace in the early nineties. I had very agreeable talks with the Belgian Royal Couple, who were as gracious as always, and was presented to King George and Queen Mary.

The King was very agreeable, and talked of old times in Russia where I first met him, and of Anglo-American relations on the Rhine and elsewhere. The Queen did not seem quite at ease, and confirms the impression that her pictures and reports give one.

Mr. Asquith came and spoke to me, though I did not recognize him in what seemed to be a gorgeous naval uniform, but which it is understood is that of a Prime Minister. He thinks that in the adjustment of Pacific questions, the United States should be a party with England

and Japan in a triplicate arrangement. I told him that in my opinion it would be difficult to bring about such a measure.

July 8. I arrived somewhat ahead of my engagement hour with the Ambassador, but he was tied up with certain Japanese questions. He was very apologetic and left the designation of our meeting to-morrow at 11 A.M. to me. He goes very little to the Embassy. As he is also a member of the Supreme Council, he has enough to do. Just now a commission from the United States Chamber of Commerce, headed by Mr. Defrees and going into Germany, had me give them at 2.30 in their hotel an outline of the conditions on the Rhine and in Germany.

July 9. This morning I had a long session with Colonel Harvey at which he set forth the difficulties in which the President finds himself, the Secretary of State on one side and Knox and the Irreconcilables on the other. This contention was in a measure fought out at the Chicago Convention in his room. He thinks the President may be required to make a decision, and, whatever it be, it will not be advantageous for the unity of the party. He also set forth his views concerning his new diplomacy and his July Fourth speech, as well as the contemptuous way in which the representatives of small states are treated. In my turn I mentioned the rôle of the High Commission, France's attitude toward Germany, America's trade interests, the withdrawal of the troops, and our value as a stabilizing influence on the Rhine in restraining and constraining.

We lunched with Melville at Hurlingham and had in the middle of the table the cup to be contended for in the afternoon. The contest was the final of the inter-regimental polo tournament. We were taken to the royal box to which the Duke of Connaught came and near which he made the presentation of the cup to the winning team, the 17th Lancers. Our flags were flying at the ends of one diagonal of the field, the British at the other. Princess Victoria and Field Marshals French and Haig were also in the box. Haig was at one time colonel of the winning team, on which

Melville played. I sat with him throughout and had ample opportunity for studying his mentality. After the game the four winning players marched up bareheaded and the Duke shook hands with the captain of the team, Lockett, simply saying, "May I give you your cup?" That was all.

In my talk with Haig, his chief replies were "Yes" and "Quite so," but when I asked if he had followed the Ruhr question or the Silesian question, his answer was in the negative. J. sat throughout the game between the Duke of Connaught and Marshal French. Haig made a very amusing remark when I expressed my pleasure at seeing the American flags: "We do not consider Americans foreigners: we treat them like members of the Dominion, of the colonies." With the Earl and Countess of Carnarvon we had a most delightful dinner. General and Lady Maxwell were there. The Carnarvons are delightfully insistent on our visiting them in the country at Highclere, which is considered one of the most beautiful places in England.

July 10. This has been a day of excessive heat for Europe, 90° Fahrenheit. Sumner was unable to get sleeper accommodations from Brussels on, so he telegraphed to have my car meet us at Brussels. Before leaving London we went to see Mrs. the Right Honorable Middleton, in an old, quaint part of London near Westminster. She is a very handsome woman, interested in many matters of public welfare, and speaks publicly on equal suffrage. We also called on Lady Robertson and Lady Wilson, both of whom had been at least twice at our house in Coblenz. The Murphys came for lunch at the house, our farewell meal in London. We left Victoria Station at two o'clock, reached Dover about five, were three hours crossing to Ostend, where we saw the sunken ship intended to prevent the egress and ingress of submarines, and arrived at Brussels at eleven. There we were met by Colonel Thomas and Major Kœnig, who had come from Antwerp. The car was waiting for us and saved us from sitting up all night.

July 11. We arrived at Coblenz at nine this morning. I had a final conference with Defrees, Fahey, Strawn,

Filene, and others at my headquarters, and a lunch of twenty at my house, where the small German orchestra and the headquarters band played. They feel that America's trade interests demand a continuation of our participation in the Rhine holding. I should say that, by reason of their direct interest, they have a keener insight into world politics than most of our intelligent representatives.

This has been about the hottest day I have known in Europe, but it did not prevent polo. Henry L. Stimson called. We had the Stimsons, the Beekmans of Rhode Island, the Marshalls and the Russells for dinner to-night.

July 13. Tirard brings a proposition for approval and recommendation by the respective Governments which makes a radical change in the customs administration by authorizing a high German official also to visé customs licenses. The approval of this would in a way be equivalent to our approval of the maintenance of the sanctions and would practically double the present customs administrative machinery.

After having invited the Spanish military mission to visit the Rhine, under French auspices, to dine with us on their arrival at Coblenz, Roussellier came to me to say that M. Briand thought their first meal should be at the French Commissioner's house, and that, therefore, M. Tirard would like to have J. and me dine there, but that the Spaniards would call on me at 6 P.M. on the day of their arrival. I assured Roussellier that my invitation was simply an act of courtesy and I had not the slightest objection to the change. Roussellier spoke of the change of customs administration, and I assured him of my greater interest in having the sanctions lifted than in changes of administration.

July 14. We are observing this French holiday very fully. This morning on the artillery drill ground I invested a battalion of the 6th Field Artillery and a battalion of Engineers with the green-red *Fouragère* won while they were elements of the 1st Division.

Robertson has just returned from Berlin and is very

pessimistic. He had a long conference with Dr. Rosen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who told him that, if the sanctions were not lifted and they did not secure a square deal in Silesia, he could not vouch for the conduct of his Government. Robertson made a very strong representation to Dr. Rosen of the importance of keeping the American forces on the Rhine, and left the impression that, if these forces withdrew, America would have no representation on the High Commission. I am not sure of that.

I had a long conference with von Brandt and found, as I suspected, that he knew nothing of Tirard's remarkable proposition. He promised to make inquiries at Berlin and let me know very soon.

July 15. The unusual heat continues and reports of 36° C. are not uncommon in Europe. After much shifting the Spanish military delegation arrived and did not call on me, as I told Tirard at the Collins-Easterbrook wedding that courtesy would be gladly waived. This delegation, headed by the Duke of St. Elena, was invited by the French to the Rhine, perhaps to see the flourishing conditions here, and later to the devastated regions, where they may note the marked contrast. These military dignities have not had any opportunity of seeing American troops. It was not originally intended that Tirard should give them a dinner, but he did intend, and carried out the idea of having a garden party with a big dancing pavilion and a buffet supper for a large number of French people of all varieties. Very few Americans, English, or Belgians were present. Some of the Spaniards spoke only in their own tongue, and I had to draw upon my stale memory to converse with them. The great number of their decorations makes the whole question of decoration seem of doubtful value as indicative of real merit. Had these individuals been engaged in the Great War, their chests would hardly have held their baubles in addition to those they already have.

At a meeting of the Commission, had it not been so disagreeable, it would have been laughable to note the incessant talk that Tirard indulged in throughout and his

evident tendency to make use of the steam roller. With regard to the change of administration of the customs, apparently agreed upon by Loucheur and Hirsch at Paris in connection with the reparations in kind, he stated that both German and French Governments were in accord. I asked him twice if he were sure of this, to which he answered affirmatively. I then informed the Commission that in my opinion the German Government knew nothing of the details of this matter or in any event did not approve it, but I would be delighted to know that Germany and France were in accord on any subject.

My rather firm suggestion that the German Government was not in accord with the French was in the nature of a bomb. I stated that, while the Commission had authority to determine administrative changes, it would seem best for us to wait for the early meeting of the Supreme Council which would determine whether or not the sanctions are to be lifted. It still seems as though this proposal by Tirard was intended to have the Commission go on record as approving this measure, thereby indirectly sustaining the maintenance of the customs sanctions. Later von Brandt informed me that his Government completely disapproved Hirsch's proposal.

The marriage ceremony of Gladys Easterbrook to Captain Collins by her father at the Palace chapel was very touching and the reception afterwards in the garden was a very charming picture.

July 16. The Spanish military mission went up to Ehrenbreitstein this morning and were apparently much impressed by the smartness of the command there.

Robertson expresses much surprise that only the War Office, and not the Foreign Office also, had taken official cognizance of my stay in London.

July 17. This is another hot day, which seemed doubly so at the race meet and fête of the 38th Division of General d'Anselme. We arrived at Kreuznach at three and left at six, making the distance each way in about one hour and twenty minutes — much too fast. France seems to be

sending up here all classes of officials that they may see the Rhine, and possibly that the Rhine people may habituate themselves to seeing these officials.

A cable arrived this morning saying that General March, who is arriving on the transport docking to-morrow, will be on a duty status. General Chamberlain is also coming.

A German artist, Nieper, started this morning to paint my portrait, life-size, three-quarters length, for 10,000 marks. He brought two portraits of his wife to exhibit, as well as photographs of various works done by him. The Niblacks arrived at four o'clock this afternoon and were installed in the house before our return, under the escort of Hutchinson. I met Mrs. Niblack for the first time, but him I have known since Berlin days. He is much interested in naval information and his mind is as active as ever.

July 18. Niblack told Hay, Bagby, and myself his views concerning the collection of information abroad, military and naval attachés, and, above all, the Japanese question. In all of this he ran true to form and was the same Niblack I knew in Berlin years ago. He is intelligent, has keen perceptive faculties, and gets very important naval posts and commands. He leaves here to-morrow for Havre, where he takes over the battleship *Utah* as his flagship in exchange for the *Pittsburgh*.

Admiral Ratey, of the French Naval College, and his staff called about noon. He is the head of another French mission that is visiting the Rhine.

My French journals now are *Echo de Paris*, *Le Matin*, *Le Journal*, *Le Gaulois*, *Excelsior*, *Echo du Rhin*, *La Revue Rhénane*, and *Le Bulletin de Presse*. I am therefore able to follow French thought fairly well, and it is evident that France and England are just now again drifting apart. It seems that the French are getting a little more cocky than usual, and that they want either the support of other countries or they want to be let alone. This is shown in their new proposal to send three thousand more French to Silesia and also another commission there to make a further study. This would seem to be a counter to England's de-

sire to have an early meeting of the Supreme Council. It may not be correct to say that France has become militaristic in her great national desire to see her wounds healed and to remove the causes of the fear that Germany inspires; still, her attitude toward the opinions of her co-belligerents has changed and her policy toward Germany is stiffening. This means that the restoration is going to be slow, slow.

Hay brought in General March this morning. He comes over on duty, but will leave shortly for Berlin. I fear that some of our good Americans living in Paris are misleading the French with respect to sentiment in the United States, in their earnest desire to be sympathetic and helpful to France.

July 20. Fred Coudert came in to say good-bye, and wanted to know what answer could be made to those Americans who thought that France should be permitted to occupy the Ruhr or do pretty much what she pleased to make Germany recognize her responsibilities and make good the devastation in France. In part my answer was that the United States did not want to come over here again with her soldiers and that our trade interests would be greatly injured by the unsettled condition that the continued holding of the left bank creates in Central Europe.

July 21. Ex-Postmaster-General Burleson and family are stopping with the Johnstons. He said that his people turned down a contract for 200,000 bales of cotton that he had made with German textile manufacturers because it was made in marks. He thought they could have hedged on the marks to meet the fluctuations in their value. It was intended in his negotiations to divide the profit of the manufactured articles. To my surprise, he referred to the astonishing proposal he made to me in 1913 when he was a member of the House Appropriations Committee, to help him reduce the cavalry so that a saving of three million dollars could be made and that he would help later to restore it to its strength. That involved the reduction of the cavalry by a certain number of regiments. My answer was

that he could make a still greater reduction, and when asked how, I said, "By mustering out all of it."

July 24. The unusual heat, which seems to be so general throughout the country, is attributed to spots on the sun. The baseball season is at its zenith and the very keen competition throughout the forces is producing some baseball of an exceptionally high order. At the international shooting contest at Aix-la-Chapelle our success was phenomenal. We won the first six places with all the arms except the machine gun, where only the French beat us.

July 26. This is the second day of the Inter-Allied field and track meet at Carnival Island and the Americans are winning by a large margin.

The French are losing no tricks in seeing that Americans get their viewpoint, and in this they are showing good judgment. The German Government protests their sending troops to Silesia through Germany unless this move is approved by all the members of the Entente in accordance with the terms of the treaty. I believe the German contention is well founded, and I suppose that probably the matter will be decided by the Council of Ambassadors.

July 27. The field and track events, including tennis and swimming, were ended to-day, and at the boxing ring on Clemens Platz I distributed the prizes. We had a total of 209 points, the French 106, and the British and Belgians very much less.

Mr. Kinsley, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce and also President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, arrived to-day from Paris with letters of introduction and a warm personal letter from Mr. Herrick. He fears Mr. Herrick's health will not stand the strain demanded by his Paris position, and that will be a great misfortune.

We dined at Tirard's, taking our house guests, the Falls, with us. Tirard had Senator and Madame Dupuy, who have just come from the Tauffliebs in Alsace. The Tauffliebs were to arrive to-day as our house guests, but Madame's sickness delayed them. Dupuy owns the *Petit*

Parisien and the *Miroir*. Nadame Dupuy is an attractive American, very bright and intelligent, with a keen *flair* for politics. General and Madame Neville were also there. Robertson declined the invitation on account of the violence of the French press toward England in connection with its attitude toward Silesia in opposition to France. England and France have come nearly to the parting of the ways over the Rhine and Silesian policies as well as the differences in Near-Eastern matters. The press is full of the Anglo-French friction.

July 28. Acting Reichskommissar von Brandt came to see me this morning to explain the *Versorgungstelle* and gave me some pamphlets concerning it. In a word, this institution is largely intended to combat the gallicization of the Rhineland, according to him, and is considered the best peaceful method that Germany can employ.

It is reported that England has gone so far as to send ships to Danzig to prevent the landing of French troops proposed as reinforcements for Silesia.

July 29. In addition to our house guests, we had Generals Pouydraguin and de Metz for luncheon, after which we went to the show. Such highly burnished animals and vehicles have probably never been seen in a competition in which Americans participated. Our guests are simply amazed. This year we have beaten the British at this game in the ratio of almost three to one. Harry is probably the biggest individual winner, including in his list open jumping in a class of about forty, many of whom were French winners elsewhere.

We had for dinner to-night the Argentine Minister to Switzerland with his wife, the American and French Military Attachés at Berne, the Robertsons, their guests, the Eddys, and others. The Anglo-French tension continues strong and the time of meeting of the Supreme Council, tentatively fixed for August 4th, is again in the air. Some of my guests opened their batteries on England at lunch to-day and fired many gas shells. By some England was denounced almost as severely as Germany. France now

considers herself humiliated by Germany's practical refusal to permit French troops to pass through her territory *en route* to Silesia, and again talks of the occupation of the Ruhr. France now fully realizes that she is the conqueror and that Germany is at her mercy more than ever before.

July 30. In order to delay the meeting of the Supreme Council, France has asked for a board of experts to make recommendations as to the division of Silesia. Naturally France is interested in having Poland secure as much of Silesia as possible and the vague and unsatisfactory provisions of the Versailles Treaty, leaving the partition to the plebiscite and to geographic and economic conditions, make this possible. The French Parliament and people are fully aware that the weakening of Germany means the relative strengthening of France. From recent conversations with the French, it is clear that many of them think Briand's policy toward Germany is too mild and that he should be ousted.

July 31. France feels that her dignity would be impaired did she not insist on Germany's granting permission to send troops through Germany to Silesia. Apparently a compromise has been reached whereby the Entente Powers will ask that Germany prepare trains to send 10,000 French troops whenever the necessity arises, although it is understood that no troops will be sent. This being settled, perhaps the Supreme Council will meet about August 4th.

August 2. August 8th has been definitely set for the meeting of the Supreme Council at Paris.

Cyrus McCormick and son came in for a talk this morning concerning the Y, and our policy in Europe, especially with respect to taking the troops home. They, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Henry of Philadelphia and ourselves, dined with the Stones. The McCormicks leave convinced of the value to Europe and our Government of maintaining troops on the Rhine. Mr. Henry and Mr. McCormick are trustees of Princeton University, and both are men of substance and intelligence. Mrs. Henry is a very clever woman; she talked interestingly about political conditions

in the United States. The money that is now running the Y.M.C.A. here is the excess that was collected by the war drives and no money is now being collected for this purpose in the United States.

At Webb Hayes's request I sent a cable to the War Department to the effect that in the Hoover Russian agreement there should be included the right to secure and bring home our dead in northern Russia and that they should be brought out in August by a ship from the White Sea. He wants a monument commission, such as he spoke of yesterday, also to mark our march to the Rhine and our holdings on the Rhine.

August 3. J. and practically all of our army women are working overtime in preparing a big charity fête to take place in the Palace garden August 5th.

Webb Hayes had a long session with me again on the subject of the American Memorial Road and I have laid it out on a map for him, as follows: Château-Thierry, Rheims, Montfaucon, whence one branch would go via Verdun to Toul, thence to Luxembourg; and the other branch via Stenay to Montmédy, thence to Luxembourg. From Luxembourg the road would lead to Coblenz.

August 4. Hayes came again this morning regarding the highway, and I sketched out for him in detail on a map my version of what French and German roads it should cover.

Robertson will go to Paris as adviser in the matter of the Rhine sanctions, and to-night at de Liedekerkes's dinner Rolin told me he has asked his Government whether or not he should go to Paris for this meeting. I sincerely hope he does, for he stands for what seems fair as well as best for Europe. He intimated in no uncertain terms that his Government had let it be known that there were aggressive limits beyond which Belgium could not go with respect to Germany. There seems to be a change in his sentiments since the visit of the King and Queen with Carton de Wiart to England. Belgium's rôle is not an easy one, involving as it does a policy friendly to England on one side and France on the other.

August 6. Telegrams have come from the State Department, Ambassador Harvey, and the War Department concerning my participation with Mr. Harvey in the meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris August 8th. The State Department instructions are as follows:

> Department would be glad if you find it possible to join Ambassador Harvey in Paris on Sunday to be prepared to render him such advice and assistance as he may require during the meeting of the Supreme Council which will hold its first session Monday, August 8th. War Department consents.

The reports on the Silesian question, largely by Bagby, and on the sanctions, largely by Davis, have been turned in, and are very enlightening. Still, it is evident that any distribution or division of Silesia, under the phrasing of the Versailles Treaty and France's earnest intention to get the greatest value possible out of the affair in Poland's name, is going to be very difficult. Pertinax, in the *Echo de Paris*, finds that the solution at present is not going to be possible, and the press of Paris indicates that Briand desires to hold the question unsettled for the present. By some that is taken to indicate the extremity to which France is willing to go to carry matters as she desires in her present aggressive policy.

August 8. We reached Paris this morning. Robertson is stopping at the British Embassy, and has already arranged for me to dine there with Lord Hardinge to-night. It is to be a stag dinner and smoking-jackets with black ties the costume. At the Meurice I found Colonel Harvey with Butler Wright installed in a suite provided by the French Government on the third floor. There are five to seven rooms and another one is to be provided for my office.

They are apparently very glad to see me. Colonel Harvey's instructions do not make him a full-fledged member of the Supreme Council. As the first subject on the agenda is Upper Silesia, that constitutes our chief topic of conversation. Colonel Harvey, Butler Wright, and I lunched together in one of the rooms where I am expected to eat while here, and all of us are guests of the French Government.

This morning, when I went to see Mr. Herrick at the Embassy, his appearance was very different from what it was at the beginning of the War in 1914. He listened very attentively to what I had to say concerning the development of French policy toward Germany and other countries and seemed not to have been strongly advised on this subject. He showed me a copy of a memorandum Mr. Kinsley had made for him which contained the following:

> In the increasing friction developed in the occupied territory, the only element there that has restrained both the French and the Germans has been General Allen, his representative on the High Commission, and the American troops, plus the respect felt for the English by the Germans. The English do not and cannot greatly restrain the French. The French do not trust the English. All respect General Allen.

At the conference this afternoon only the reports of the experts on Silesia were to be heard. Arriving at the English Embassy I found the entire party, which included Lord Hardinge, Marquis Curzon, Sir Harold Stuart, General Sackville-West, and about four others, all English. Curzon was opposite the host, and I was put on his right that he might have opportunity to talk with me, it was explained by a member of the Embassy staff. The evening was most enjoyable and Curzon most affable; though serious, he was far from stiff. As Robertson was on his left, we thrashed out many questions connected with the Rhineland, which was the principal subject of conversation. Both Curzon and Hardinge think that Briand realizes he must compromise, and that the British will have the economic sanctions lifted, but must yield on the holding of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort. They feel that Briand would go down if he lost all his contentions. Curzon suggested as a compromise that a date should be fixed for giving up the military sanctions.

August 9. At the Meurice this morning I found that Mr. Harvey wanted me to attend the session beginning at eleven, so I had to return to the house and change into uniform; still, my arrival at the Quai d'Orsay was in time

to make the acquaintance in the Assembly Room of Lloyd George, M. Briand, and Mr. Hayashi, with all of whom I had some agreeable small talk prior to the beginning of the session. The last-named recalled having met me in Seoul in 1904 during the time of the Russo-Japanese War, when he was head of the Japanese Legation there. The conference dealt with the Upper Silesian question. The Silesian commissioners in turn, Le Rond, Sir Harold Stuart, and General de Marinis, set forth their views concerning the necessity of reinforcements there. The first-named advocated the immediate sending of troops to save the volcanic situation existing there, while the last two said there was no necessity for such action, but that a speedy decision as to the division should be made, and all troops withdrawn as soon as practicable.

Lloyd George stated that Silesia was out-and-out German, it had been so for seven hundred (*sic*) years, and the plebiscite showed their present wishes in the ratio of seven to four. He was somewhat satirical in referring to the "liberation of the oppressed Poles." Each speaker was seated, and those not at the council table who spoke took a position in the hollow square immediately facing the two big chiefs, Lloyd George and Briand.

I had to leave before the close of the session in order to get Robertson and go out with him and Mr. Herrick to the latter's little country place near the golf links at St.-Cloud for lunch. I was anxious to have Mr. Herrick get Robertson's views concerning relations between France and Germany, and our luncheon with only three present was very satisfactory. The Ambassador's life, in the country, where he plays golf, is greatly to the benefit of his health. Thus far he is without a house; the sum appropriated by Congress, $150,000, even at the low rate of the franc, about 7.6 cents, will not suffice to buy a suitable building with garden and furniture. That sum should be increased by at least fifty per cent. The Duke of Wellington paid £24,000 sterling for the present English Embassy many years ago, a superb building with a fine large garden. Mr. Herrick

undoubtedly wants to know conditions and to act without bias, in spite of his cordial feelings for the French.

I returned to Quai d'Orsay at three o'clock, but found the meeting did not take place until four, because the Commissioners and experts are at work on the subject of Upper Silesia. I, therefore, went to the Meurice and came back to the Quai d'Orsay with Mr. Harvey, Butler Wright, and Mr. Lane. Sheldon Whitehouse was also present at this afternoon's session. Colonel Harvey is authorized to have as many as five advisers present at the sessions, and he proposes including Jimmie Logan at times.

Briand opened the session, and spoke well, but a little unconvincingly, as to the attitude of the French Government. Withal he was rather conciliatory. He was followed by the Italian Premier Bonomi, who was even more conciliatory, but said very little in the way of agreement. Then Ishii, seated by the side of Hayashi, spoke a few words in French declaring the solidarity of the Allies was far more important to the welfare of the world than Silesia. Colonel Harvey declined to make any remarks. The session was then closed for tea, which was served in the room just behind our seats. All Commissioners and experts were directed to meet and make another report. Sir Harold told me he thought an agreement could be reached by to-morrow. When the session reopened, the question of Asia Minor was taken up. Marshal Foch and Weygand, who had left, were recalled. The Marshal and an English colonel offered maps showing the positions of the Greek and Turkish forces, and the discussion following bore on the question of the neutrality of the Straits and whether or not it is opportune for the Entente Governments to interfere in the Greek-Turkish struggle.

August 10. This morning I went around to see Boyden and Logan relative to German money for the payment of American troops, and found the usual objection that the American Section of the Reparations Commission had to be guided by the views and actions of the others. At present the French and Belgians have received in kind suffi-

cient to pay for the upkeep of their Rhine forces, and the British tentatively promise to divide with us the moneys already received. It is not true that the Reparations Commission has decided that our country, not being a party to the Versailles Treaty, cannot participate in the first moneys coming from Germany for the payment of cost of maintenance of occupying forces. To clear up any doubt, I suggested to Boyden bringing this matter before the Supreme Council, but he said the State Department was not yet ready for that. Then I asked how we could get payment for loss of exchange if we had to buy dollars with requisitioned marks, for naturally our soldiers would want payment in the one or the other according to the rate fixed in Washington. That could not be answered, but he asked Logan to make a further study of this. I then took Logan with me to the Meurice, whence we went with Colonel Harvey and Butler Wright to Quai d'Orsay.

Aeronautical control in Germany was the first subject on the agenda, and developed a cleavage, with France and Belgium on one side and England and Italy on the other. Japan was content to leave the subject to its military expert, and the United States had nothing to say. It now develops that there are about six hundred foreign officers in Germany on all kinds of boards and committees, and yet France wants to establish another big committee for control of air forces and aircraft in Germany. It was decided to ask the General Board of Control for its views.

The next subject was neutrality with respect to the Turks and Greeks; then freedom of the Dardanelles, and the right of private citizens to import war materials into the fighting zones. It was decided to maintain a neutrality; that private citizens should have the right to make the importations; and that a committee should be named to report on the nature and amount of international forces necessary to maintain the freedom of the Dardanelles.

Mr. Harvey made his first and thus far only remarks when asked for his views, in simply stating that the United States would adhere to its traditional policy with respect

to these subjects. When leaving the building, Lloyd George said to me in the presence of Mr. Harvey: "We will want to hear you on the sanctions; you are on the Rhine and we are very anxious to hear your views." I made a non-committal reply, for, if Mr. Harvey's instructions prevent him from talking, certainly I should not. On arrival at the Meurice I so expressed myself to both the Ambassador and Wright, and it was decided that the former would explain the matter to Lloyd George. Wright, Logan, and I lunched together while the Ambassador lunched with Mr. Lane, who is acting as his private secretary.

The afternoon session began at four o'clock with a continuation of the Near-East question, which went on until six, when there was a recess for tea. While at tea Loucheur told me that M. Briand would like to have a talk with me concerning the sanctions. My reply was that it would depend upon the wishes of Mr. Harvey, with whom I was talking at the time. The latter said there would be no objections, and it was agreed that it should be at the close of the day's work.

After tea the Russian famine was the subject under discussion and continued until 7.45. I then went to M. Briand and said that in view of the late hour it would probably be preferable to him to talk with me in the morning or at some other time. He designated to-morrow after the afternoon session. The Council was unanimous in recognizing the necessity of action in Russia, and many suggestions were advanced, but each with a recognition of the difficulties of transport in that country. It soon became evident that the whole matter was being considered by the respective states in its political aspects, the attitude of the Soviet Government, and how long it would last. The Hoover work was fully recognized, but Lloyd George thought a few million dollars from the United States and an equivalent from Europe would not go far.

August 11. To-day the session was set for five o'clock, but, as the experts on Silesia were still far apart, it was

decided at the Rambouillet lunch not to meet. Besides, Lloyd George and Briand had had a rather stormy session at the Crillon in the morning. At the Rambouillet, Lloyd George told Briand, "You were a bad boy this morning," to which the latter replied, "It was you who were a bad boy." In the afternoon Millerand was called in at the Crillon, thus making the camera session consist of Millerand, Briand, Loucheur, Lloyd George, and Curzon. From this it is clear that two countries are in a large measure determining the great European questions. After Davis had made his report on sanctions *diplomatic*, I made radical changes in it to make it more diplomatic. Still, after conversation with Mr. Harvey I decided to give M. Briand nothing in writing concerning the sanctions. As there was no session this afternoon, my engagement with him did not take place, but a formal invitation came for me to lunch with him to-morrow.

The Ambassador, Wright, and I were to dine together at the Meurice, then go to see the *Tales of Hoffmann* at the Opéra Comique in the box of the Minister of Foreign Affairs that was put at the disposition of our delegate. This programme was carried out except as to Mr. Harvey, who fell out to dine with the Ryans at the Crillon, saying he had decided to go to bed at ten o'clock. At the opera, which was specially good, we met Mrs. Junius Morgan and Mrs. X, who were asked to our box.

Lloyd George is reported to have thrown his papers at Briand in the camera session this morning. I called on ex-Ambassador Leishman at the Travellers' Club and had a cup of tea with him.

August 12. The session began this morning at 11. It was a great surprise when Lloyd George announced that a majority of the Supreme Council voted for turning the Silesian question over to the League of Nations for decision. Upon studying the resolution, it was discovered that this could not be done, and therefore it was modified so that the League of Nations could make recommendations as to the frontier line between Germany and Poland

in Silesia with great urgency and it was made known that the Supreme Council would approve. Lloyd George left for home as soon as this was settled, ostensibly on account of the Irish question, and the conference adjourned to meet to-morrow at 10.30. Lord Curzon again brought up the matter of my speaking before the Council on the sanctions, but Mr. Harvey answered that he would let him know to-morrow. Lord Curzon then turned to me and was resuming his argument when I told him I must obey the instructions of the head of my delegation.

A most distinguished assemblage gathered at the lunch table of Minister-President Briand in this same building of Foreign Affairs. It included all the conference celebrities, plus the Ambassadors in Paris, plus the High Commissioners in Silesia, and also M. Jusserand from Washington. I sat between Laurent, Ambassador to Berlin, and Le Rond, Silesian Commissioner. The lunch was delicious, and fortunately it was not stiff. Loucheur came around to take me to talk with M. Briand after lunch. Later Briand came up to me, and began by expressing great satisfaction over the decision to give the Silesian question to the League of Nations, at the same time saying it would relieve the several Governments of the responsibility of making the decision. Then, referring to the sanctions, he said the economic ones would be lifted, and the date set not later than the end of this year for removal of the troops from Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort, and that he intended to make this proposal so that it might be known that the decision had not been thrust on France.

I replied; "M. le Président, cette décision me paraît excellente," and repeated it. After his statement, there was no further need of discussion with me concerning the sanctions. I cannot help but feel that our attitude on this subject, made known to the French Government by both Tirard and Robertson, has had considerable influence in bringing about that solution.

A member of the British delegation told Davis to-day that he thought Mr. Harvey should either "get his feet out

of the ice or let General Allen talk." Mr. Harvey sent a telegram to the State Department asking whether I should be allowed to talk. After his long *séance* with the newspaper men, I talked with him concerning Briand's remarks. He again brought up the question of my talking before the conference, and thought that, if I did so, it should be only to answer questions. He asked me whether in my opinion it would be wise to talk. We finally left the matter open, awaiting the reply from Washington.

With Davis, Sumner, and Mr. Strawn I went to the reception given the American Legionaries at the Cercle Interallié, then to the Arc de Triomphe where the formal ceremony of placing flowers on the grave of the Unknown Soldier was enacted. Marshal Foch, with whom I talked at length after lunch at Quai d'Orsay, and Ambassadors Herrick and Jusserand were there.

To-night I drove Mrs. Robert Bliss out to Mr. Herrick's country place for dinner. Mrs. Robert Bacon, Mr. Herrick's son, the latter's wife, and a few others were there.

August 13. Went down to the Meurice earlier than usual this morning in order to talk over with the Ambassador what I should say to-day concerning the sanctions. It is agreed that so far as possible my remarks should be confined to a statement of facts, to include:

(1) They are baneful to the trade of the Rhineland and Germany;
(2) their continuance is of interest to states other than those directly concerned;
(3) they give Germany occasion to say that they prevent her compliance with the reparations requirements; and
(4) they serve as a deterrent to states who may want to help make German bonds, especially classes B and C, of value.

I was not to do more than was necessary to show good-will. Whether or not Mr. Harvey got a reply from the State Department about my talking, he did not say; in any event, he is extremely anxious lest he make some move that will be seized upon at home for political capital. He finds that it is of greater importance not to become

entangled than to be sympathetic and helpful to suffering Europe.

To-day, the last of the sessions, has been one of much interest, and the discussions and decisions have covered many questions, one of which, the cost of the armies and of the various commissions, was not on the agenda. The warmest discussion took place concerning the commissions of control, which caused M. Briand to make another very impassioned speech. The cleavage continues well marked, though Belgium is hardly so consistent a supporter of France as Italy is of England. Japan is always moderate, but generally leans toward the English.

We are hardly in it, and yet I know that our views on the sanctions have had a very great value in the final decision. Up to the last the English had no idea what the French proposed to do with respect to the sanctions, and were prepared to fight for lifting both military and economic ones. Great, therefore, was Curzon's surprise when in a vigorous speech Loucheur proposed as the French viewpoint the lifting of the economic sanctions, and later, after tea, when the Minister-President proposed the lifting of the military ones at an early date, as soon as the intentions of Germany were a little better known, probably when the decision is made on the Silesian question.

At the close there was a general declaration or resolution proposed by M. Briand confirming the solidarity of the Entente. All the heads made speeches approving and thanking the President of the conference for the courtesy and the able manner in which he had conducted the meetings. Even Mr. Harvey approved the resolution, which was more than apparently was expected of him, as it did not include the "Associated Power." There was a good feeling apparently at the end, but surely the English and French have clearly shown that they cannot see European questions through the same glasses.

August 14. We left Paris by automobile for Deauville, and arrived at one o'clock at Herman Harjes's villa on the beach. In Normandy the effects of the drought were

very much in evidence until we dropped down from the plateau.

The Casino at this place, close to Trouville, is a conspicuous building in outward appearance, but still more so within, especially in the evening when the jazz bands, tango, and gambling are in full swing. It is a remarkable sight, but a horrible example of what modern civilization may produce and seems to approve. To-night there were several thousands there of all categories. The small gambling was at tables around the big dance halls, while in the other halls the play varied from moderate stakes up to a minimum of fifty louis in one room which was forbidden to women. To get into these latter rooms one had to be identified very carefully and pay one hundred francs. Harjes and Robert Rothschild were our sponsors. In these rooms there were hundreds of men and women.

At dinner the Chambruns were present from Morocco, where he is now on duty. He is intelligently talkative as usual, and told me the details of the incident connected with the proposal to put a French general in command of American forces. The incident was confirmed by Harjes, who was also a liaison officer at the time. Chambrun remarked: "That is history that will never be written, and if I were asked to give evidence concerning it, I would not do so."

August 15. After a rather hectic visit of twenty-six hours at Deauville, I have a good insight into the ways of an extremely fashionable bathing, gambling, and racing resort. Harjes, my host, was our chief liaison officer with the French at Paris, while Chambrun was liaison officer at Pershing's headquarters with Pétain and also Foch, and for the most part he was at Chaumont.

Poincaré in this morning's *Matin* in a rather venomous article scores the Supreme Council for its clandestine diplomacy, and by skillful special pleading endeavors to show up Lloyd George's arguments at the recent conference as unstatesmanlike. As special pleaders I should say these two are on a parity. Some one has remarked

that the Frenchman is a chauvinist and the Welshman an opportunist.

August 18. Lord Hardinge arrived to-day; also General and Madame Degoutte. The Robertsons gave a dinner party to-night, which explains the arrival of the Degouttes. The latter's conversation with me shows great discontent on the part of the French over the Silesian question. He thinks that Lloyd George will dominate the League of Nations and that the decision will therefore be adverse to France. He thinks England is determined upon the ruin of his country. The British are apparently well satisfied with the results of the Paris Conference, but Rolin told me at the dinner to-night that he is not; Loucheur told him that most of the French troops now in the Belgian zone would be removed very soon, and that the moving would begin immediately. Once again the French have given up the thought of occupying the Ruhr.

August 19. This morning I took Lord Hardinge with Robertson out to the Laacher See to witness a battalion problem by the 5th Infantry, to inspect a camp of the 50th, and to lunch with General Hale at his field headquarters.

Lord Hardinge says that the two best types of the aristocrat in England are Lansdowne for the exclusive variety and Balfour for the approachable variety; he does not know what has become of the fine, aristocratic types that England used to possess, and says they are now almost extinct. It is interesting to hear this man, who has had as remarkable a career as any one in England, talking thus freely of men and measures. His judgment is doubtless equal to or better than either of the men he mentioned, but he is probably unequal to either of the two in brilliancy of speech or writing. In leaving me to-night he expressed much pleasure that I am on the Rhine. As a matter of fact, I endeavored to show him such special attention as would prevent the belief that my policy here is pro-French, since the large number of French dignitaries whom I have recently entertained may have left a different impression.

August 20. This morning a company of the 8th Infantry,

and General Hay as my representative, started for Flirey to attend the dedication of the monument erected there by Lorraine to our dead in battle.

The reception last night permitted me to entertain a number of people who are here as tourists. To-day Mrs. Junius Morgan and the Nicholsons lunched with us.

The engagement of my aide Dunn to Miss Eddy has been announced by his family, who are much elated.

The *Amaroc News* cleared up 34,000 marks last month, which shows that even with our decreasing forces we can keep up this little daily.

August 24. Robertson came over this morning to give expression to thoughts overfilling his system: Germany is blacker than painted and remains a danger for France; the United States and England will not guarantee France against attack; therefore the only safeguard for the peace of the world is for France to remain on the Rhine with her saber pointed at Germany's breast. I called his attention to the terms of the Versailles Treaty setting forth specific dates for bridgehead holdings. He replied that Germany is not carrying out the treaty except under compulsion; that she was forced to sign it, and that France also signed it under compulsion and had the same right as Germany; that France would not have signed it had she not counted on the guarantee promised by Lloyd George and Wilson.

Cable from the War Department asks whether we can send by transport 800 men per month until the forces are reduced to 8000 and whether I prefer sending them as individuals or by units. My answer was as individuals, and that at any rate service casualties would bring the forces to 10,000 by April.

August 26. Tirard informs me that two ex-Minister-Presidents, Viviani and de Leygues, are arriving, and he would like us for luncheon to-morrow with them. As we are having the three Leishmans, the Hoggsons, and the Stones, the invitation was declined.

August 28. I went to call on the guests at the *Résidence.* They are interested to know something about our new

German treaty and the probabilities of the continuation of our forces here. Just why these two *Ex-es* are here is not explained, but of course Loucheur's presence is due to his conversations at Wiesbaden with Rathenau. We had the Vivianis, the de Leygues, three Loucheurs, and Tirard for dinner. I made a few remarks of welcome in French, to which Viviani replied in his usual gracious manner. These two Minister-Presidents have by no means given up hope of again coming into power. Viviani said he was not a Rhine boundary advocate, but hoped Bavaria might be detached from Prussia under some economic agreement with France. This idea is probably not realizable without some sort of a revolution. He expressed the thought that it would be more probable should a monarchist government be set up in Bavaria.

Loucheur, who is a very rich industrial, is clever enough to chase with the hounds and run with the hare. He told me much of his conversation with Rathenau, who he says is very sad over the outlook in Germany, and thinks it possible and not excessively difficult for the combined nations to stabilize the mark by simply saying it shall be considered as worth twenty centimes or some such sum and so treated in all reparations settlements. He wants to go to the United States to talk with our big business representatives, and it would be a good move. His flat nose and unusual face give him a Mongolian appearance. He is very clever, and the only one of the three who knows any English.

August 30. The Loucheur party stated that in addition to the garrison there are 20,000 French in Wiesbaden. This is strongly confirmatory of the policy of infiltration developed by the French Government.

September 3. This morning I went out to Mayen to bestow the D.S.C. on Sergeant Bliss, for which the 50th Regiment was turned out. It was inspected and passed in review in good order. There was less to criticize this morning than ever before in this fine regiment, which is to disappear by becoming non-active.

September 4. The Luxembourg party, the Brownsons, the Peeks, the Sturgeses, and Bodekers were here for lunch as well as Hale and Johnston. Just prior to sitting down, Baron de Waha, Minister of the Interior, on behalf of Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg, invested us with the various grades of the Order of the Oak Crown.

Americans are coming here in ever-increasing numbers. General March has arrived.

September 6. Yesterday the championship baseball game went to the Quartermaster Corps after thirteen innings. It was attended by an ex-Ambassador, an ex-chief of staff each of the Army and Navy, and three generals. I had Stone and Davis in for a conference on the proposed draft by Carteron for administration of the customs, or rather the insurance of licenses for the Rhineland. This draft practically nullifies the Supreme Council's intention of having the economic sanctions lifted.

One of the most serious questions of the world just now is to help famished Russia without treating with the Soviet Government. Trade reasons have caused some states practically to recognize the Lenin-Trotsky régime. In conversation with Rolin, I find he is not in accord with Tirard nor with the committee which is drawing up the terms of the customs *modus vivendi*. It is doubtful whether the experts designated to draw up these terms fall under the High Commission or whether they are independent of it, coming under the Supreme Council. If the latter be true, I have gone far in designating a representative without conference or instructions from my Government. However, I shall continue along these lines, simply reporting the facts to Washington.

September 8. This morning I sat on the Commission from 10.30 to 1.30 in connection with the sanctions regulations. In spite of the lifting proposed by the Supreme Council, so many conditions have been imposed that Germany has not accepted them.

CHAPTER XII

THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

The visit of Ambassador Herrick — Revisiting Copenhagen — We join Admiral Niblack — Received by King Christian of Denmark — Dinner aboard the royal yacht — A cruise on the *Utah* — In Danzig — Impressions of Berlin — German official predicts a terrible crash — Rathenau describes Germany's despair — Back in Coblenz — Pershing arrives — The entire division in spirited maneuvers — Degoutte in a bristling mood — Economic sanctions finally lifted — "Allen's Family in Germany" — Pershing decorates the *Poilu Inconnu* — Jusserand's tiny apartment — The Pétain-Pershing cult — Clemenceau back in politics — Unknown Soldier programme is adopted — An incomprehensible British attitude — Ambassador Herrick entertains — Paris conference on Rhineland army costs — Paris confers high honor on Pershing — American Embassy is bombed — Ceremonies at Châlons for the American Unknown.

September 11, 1921. The War Department instructs me to ship our Unknown Soldier to Cherbourg, whence the Navy will transport the body to the United States. I am also instructed to represent the Government at the Cherbourg ceremony, and to take up the matter with the Paris Embassy. It now seems certain that General Pershing will go to France to bestow the Congressional Medal on the Unknown Poilu at the Arc de Triomphe. Since he is to be here, why was he not selected to represent our country in the ceremony connected with sending home our Unknown from Cherbourg?

September 13. The Herrick party, including the Ambassador, daughter-in-law, grandson, and Mott, arrived by motor to-day, and I had a small dinner party for them, including the Bagbys and Davis, hoping to have these two men talk with Mr. Herrick. He, however, did not seem to be keenly interested in any presentation they were ready to make of the situation here on the Rhine. Pershing is to arrive in France September 24th and will come up here about the 25th. This will cut short my cruise on the *Utah*. He brings the Congressional Medal for the French Unknown Poilu, presentation of which will cause a big ceremony in Paris.

Our Paris Embassy has been informed that Mr. Boyden,

General Allen, and Colonel Hess have been selected to sit as delegates in Paris to render an opinion on the costs of the armies of occupation and of the different civilian committees established by the different treaties of peace. All this is at the request of the Supreme Council. The State Department makes it clear that our delegates should confine the discussion as far as they are concerned to the method for meeting in full the cost of the American Army of Occupation. Between maneuvers, this conference, the cruise, the ceremony for the dead poilu, and for our own soldier, a busy month is ahead of me.

Tirard invited the Herrick party and myself for lunch to-morrow, but not wishing Mr. Herrick to have too much to do while here, I declined for all.

September 14. I find Mr. Herrick and Colonel Mott are deeply impressed with the French viewpoint of European affairs, and that they, like many Americans living in France, are more influenced by sentiment for our good ally than by thoughts of peace. In a long conversation I endeavored to show them both sides of the question as we see it here on the Rhine, but to them Germany remains an unrepentant criminal convicted of a felony. If we are to continue to act on such a basis, the making of a treaty of peace with this criminal would seem to be inconsistent.

September 15. The Herrick party went off in their Rolls-Royce at eleven o'clock this morning intending to lunch with the Morlands at Cologne; thence on to Aix-la-Chapelle for the night. Thus far nothing has happened to change my plans, and after dinner Sumner and I started for Cologne, boarding our train there at eleven o'clock. Our tickets are purchased through to Copenhagen. The car service is far from being as clean as it was before the war, but, as we are traveling in uniform with diplomatic passports, we should get as clean and good service as there is. I have directed that a daily wireless bulletin be sent me. Our journey takes us through Münster, Bremen, Hamburg, Warnemünde, and Gedser.

September 16. We breakfasted in the station at Hamburg, which seems to be as busy as ever; then changed cars and proceeded to Warnemünde. Here we passed through the customs office to a train-carrying boat, where the final customs and passport inspections were completed before going into Denmark. A more strict control I have never seen, but our progress was smooth through all the stages. We lunched on the big ferryboat. The wind was strong and many were upset. Most of the people traveling seem to be solid-looking citizens chiefly of the business or commercial classes, and nearly all Scandinavians. We arrived at Gedser a little after 3 P.M. and again entrained. The appearance of this country from Gedser to Copenhagen shows that it is chiefly devoted to dairy products and agriculture. I did not note a single smokestack or factory, but everywhere were meadows with cows picketed for grazing, or fields of beets, turnips, and potatoes.

We arrived at Copenhagen about 7 P.M., nearly one hour ahead of schedule, and therefore missed Vice-Admiral Niblack. Commander Dunn conducted us to this hotel, Angleterre, where Niblack had rooms and a fine dinner for us. He and I are sharing a very nice suite in this, the largest hotel in the city. After dinner I called up the Grews who want me for tea to-morrow. They are transferred to Switzerland "to make place for a politician," it is said.

Our drive to and fro in the full moonlight showed us that this big city of about half a million inhabitants is flourishing. It is much larger than it was in 1899, when I passed through returning to my post in Berlin after having been with Niblack to help our Minister Ferguson congratulate King Oscar of Sweden and Norway at Stockholm and Christiania on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign.

September 17. We left the hotel at nine o'clock, motored down to the dock, and came aboard just as the royal yacht was dropping anchor. My cabin on the *Utah* is that of the chief of staff and encloses a five-inch gun. A little after ten we went ashore to make an official call on our Minister,

Joseph Grew. With him we went to pay our respects to the King at eleven o'clock in one of the four palaces which form the four sides of the Royal Place. The Dowager Empress, Maria Feodorovna of Russia, the King's great-aunt, occupies one of these. King Christian is about six feet, four inches tall; he is a very agreeable and intelligent dark Norseman. After both Niblack and I had had considerable conversation with him, we returned to the Chancellery of the Legation. Grew had his talk with His Majesty alone, before we went in. While we were at lunch on the ship, a phone message came from Grew saying that the King would like to give Niblack a Danish decoration, and that he would present it when he made his visit at three o'clock to the ship. This His Majesty did after an inspection of the *Utah*, and he likewise bestowed lower orders of the same decoration on the ship's captain, Traut, and Niblack's senior aide, Dunn.

We went aboard the royal yacht *Dannenbrog* for dinner, where there were about thirty-two in all, including the King, Queen, two sons, one lady-in-waiting, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Scavenius, Grew, several Danish admirals, other officials, and our party. Throughout there was a continuous and easy flow of talk. Grew sat on the right and Niblack on the left of the Queen, while Scavenius sat on the right and I on the left of the King. The latter was much interested in showing us the route of his voyage to the west coast of Greenland this summer with numerous photographs connected with it. English was spoken by nearly all, if not all.

The Queen, who is quite large, was by birth a German princess, a Mecklenburger, I think. The two sons are nearly as tall as their father. After all, the sovereigns of small states such as Denmark do not usually exercise great influence in the affairs of the world. Denmark's population is far less than that of New York City; it is less than three millions, including the 170,000 increment due to the Schleswig plebiscite. After dinner we went to a small dance with a fine supper at the beautiful house of Baron-

ess Plessen. We remained until 1.30 A.M., and are now at anchor about three miles or less from the dock at the very place where Nelson fought the battle of Copenhagen in 1801.

September 18. This morning, with Niblack's aide, Emerson, and under the guidance of Captain Thiele, the Danish officer attached to Niblack, I went ashore to do some of the sights. We went first to the Glypothek, a most interesting museum of modern and antique art; then we drove to the big park where I again saw the huge beech trees which made a deep impression on me in 1907, and also the largely increased herd of deer. Of these we counted more than three hundred of two varieties, the smaller having flat horns like the caribou. About every twelfth deer is white.

Thus far wireless connection with Coblenz has not been satisfactory and no bulletins have come from Hay.

September 19. We left Copenhagen at 9.30 this morning, but, instead of going directly to Danzig as the destroyers *Sands* and *Childs* will go, we went north and westerly around the northern end of Sealand through the Big Belt because of the draft of the *Utah*, thirty-one feet. In going through the Helsingborg-Helsingörgs Strait, we passed very close to where Shakespeare made the ghost of Hamlet walk.

This morning I made an inspection of the fire control on board this ship from the conning turret to the platting room, while firing drill was under way. The synchronizing of all movements of the big guns, the precision of the mechanism, the system of communication, and the facility of all the operations, show the highest development of mechanical devices.

The platting of the course and position of the targets is almost mechanical, but the mass and variety of machinery employed is bewildering to a layman. I should say that one of the greatest modern achievements for navigation is the perfection of the gyroscope compass which always indicates the true north.

September 20. The sky and temperature indicate autumn, but the travel is delightful. My rest to-day has been genuine, but I have read much, walked some, and was in the turret this morning during gun drill. That is no place for a tall man.

September 21. Since arriving at Danzig, I am sure that the decision to anchor outside was wise, for the dead Vistula, up which we came, is narrow, and for other reasons unfit for dreadnaughts. We are stopping at a very ordinary hotel, the Deutsches Haus, which is supposed to be the best in the city. Danzig with about 190,000 population is a typical North-German city, which boasts among its principal buildings the massive brick Marienkirche, the highly ornamented Museum, and the Rathaus with mural paintings and inlaid as well as carved doors and panels. Niblack and I drove out to see the barracks of the Death's Head Hussars, where Mackensen, said to be the half-brother of Emperor Frederick, was in command when Niblack was here in 1897.

I am unable to find any unbiased sentiment that is optimistic as to the future of the new Polish state, the buffer creation of the Versailles Treaty. The Poles and Germans can never be good neighbors, and in the end Poland may again be divided between these strong states, and the Free City Danzig may go back to the virile North Germans.

September 22. After saying good-bye to my host, we left Danzig about 11.45 for Berlin. Rarely have I been so separated from news in many years as on this trip. Our course lay via Stolp and Stettin through agricultural country well cultivated and prosperous-looking. It is rather remarkable to note the large number of fat-necked men with bald heads on this train, but perhaps it is only a coincidence and in no way a fair index of the appearance of the men who travel here. We had lunch at 1.30 and dinner at 7.30, both heavy German meals, and arrived in Berlin at the Stettiner Bahnhof a little before ten. Dresel, with his senior secretary Pennoyer, was at the station to

meet us. I am here with him in the old Embassy where the Gerards were in 1914 when we were here with the *Tennessee* gold to help home the stranded Americans. In fact I am occupying Gerard's room. Dresel makes a better showing in his own house than elsewhere, and seems to be on excellent terms, not only with his colleagues, but also with the German officials. A telegram from Washington directs me to inform the Secretary of State of my views with respect to lifting the sanctions in the American area. Dresel says that the Majority Socialists and the Volkspartei have got together for the first time, and that the coalition government of the Centrists and Democrats between the Moderate Left and Moderate Right should be strengthened thereby. However, the position of Chancellor Wirth is considered very critical.

September 23. This has been an interesting day and has included a visit to our old apartment at 21 Regentenstrasse, to the house of our military mission, Tiergartenstrasse, and a walk to the business center this morning. Considering the low state of the mark, 110 to the dollar, and the ravages of the Great War, the appearance of Berlin is far more normal than would be expected. Dresel gave a lunch at which General Nollet, President of the Control Board, Colonel Gastney, also of this Board, Consul-General Coffin, and Colonel Davis and his wife, were present. One feature in Berlin which I had never before noticed was the number of beggars on Unter den Linden, largely wounded soldiers, permitted to carry on to the shame of the authorities, in my opinion, and to the discomfort of the observers. Prices of articles have been increased in most cases to meet the low rate of the mark.

The Guaranty Commission arrived in Berlin from Paris this afternoon, and Colonel Logan, our senior member, has also come to stop as a guest of Dresel. He thinks the conference on cost of armies will sit in Brussels instead of Paris. To-night Dresel had for dinner Lord and Lady d'Abernon, with whom we played bridge later. He told me of his meeting with Harvey and of the latter's request to

have him talk with me. D'Abernon is about six feet, four inches, a very fine-looking man with a white beard, and his wife is a tall, thin, good-looking English type. He asked me to the Embassy to-morrow morning to show me some things connected with the sanctions, about which I had expressed surprise.

September 24. Dresel has done his best to have me enjoy myself and find my Berlin sojourn useful. This morning I went over to the British Embassy and learned of the Italian dispatch bearing on the sanctions. That Government seems to have undergone a complete change and stands for what it claims are Briand's views, while asking that the English Government help make Germany accept *in toto* the demands of the Paris Conference of the Supreme Council. This radical change simply astounds me, and I cannot understand how Bonomi or della Toretta or both can have been brought to agree to this view. I am reminded of an incident that took place many years ago, when we were counting upon Russian support in the Bering Sea question, to find an announcement in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* that the Russian view was in complete accord with that of the English. Andrew D. White was unwilling to believe that this could be the case and went to see Tchichkin, the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, from whom he had understood all along that Russia's interests were in accord with ours. A couple of years later Howard, then British Chargé at St. Petersburg, while visiting us in a cottage at Tereok, explained in Sir Robert Morier's own words how he had brutally demanded that Tchichkin support the English contention, adding that "he cowed like a dog." D'Abernon was most agreeable and asked me to come for luncheon or dinner while in Berlin. Unfortunately my limited time does not permit acceptance of his hospitality.

Dresel had von Haniel, the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, General Groener, Minister of Railways, and von Mutius and Adelmann, charged with certain matters of the Rhineland, for lunch. This was the first time that I

had met at table any Germans since the war. Groener was charged with the administration of a great part of the German railways during the war. With him I had to converse wholly in German. Throughout my stay at Dresel's, I sat opposite him at the table, and that put von Haniel on my right and Count Adelmann on my left. Haniel said that Germany is simply compelled to issue paper money at the rate of several billions per month and that she would pay as long as she could and then there would be a terrible crash.

Rathenau, the Minister of Reconstruction, came by appointment, and a highly interesting interview it was. He has been very busy all day, especially with the Chancellor, and apologized for being late. He is optimistic as to the serious political events in Germany during the past week and very pessimistic as to the financial outlook which can only grow worse under present conditions. He is chagrined that the United States does not help out with its powerful influence, and is amazed that the Allies permit France to carry on its present policy which is driving Germany to despair. Laughingly I said, "You will make an agreement with us such as you are doing with France." He replied he would, and that he had told the Englishmen he would do the same thing with England. D'Abernon told me Rathenau had expressed that thought to him. R. is quite an exceptional character. He esteems the United States greatly, and says that without its counsel in Europe many things will happen that will not be for its advantage. He thinks that unless the French can be more controlled than at present, the restoration of the world is going to be slow and dangerous regardless of Germany's efforts.

Dresel had the President of the Guaranty Commission, Mauclerc, the Belgian senior member Bemelman, and Hanoquin for dinner: an Entente dinner to balance the German lunch.

September 26. The train service from Berlin was punctual and the cars better than I anticipated. A first-class ticket gives a whole compartment. Contrary to my

wishes the cavalry squadron brought in for General Pershing's arrival met me at the station. I had Hay, Stone, and Davis for lunch and gave them a résumé of my journey to Copenhagen, Danzig, Berlin, and back.

I am asking all the Commissioners and their deputies and all the commanders-in-chief of the Rhine forces for dinner with General Pershing, and likewise about one hundred and fifty people, including most of the generals on the Rhine for a reception afterwards. At Pershing's request I telegraphed the Cornelius Vanderbilts to come up.

September 27. To-day the assaulting forces are entrenching and organizing their position, which is on the second objective. The fine weather and the general appearance of men and animals are highly satisfactory.

While out in the field a telegram came saying General Pershing would arrive at three o'clock; though I doubted such speed even if he lunched in his automobile, I went out as far as the Cochem ferry and met him there at 3.30. He is a little fatter, a little older, and apparently a little shorter than formerly. In my effort to bring him abreast of many matters connected with our holding, he permitted me to do most of the talking coming down the Mosel. He thinks our whole country wants the troops brought home, but he knows nothing definite about such an order being given in spite of the rather concise statements of the press. It is doubted whether the President will do more right away than order the diminution of the forces. The French are prepared to come in the moment we leave, but they are already taking steps to head off our departure.

September 28. This morning we left in time to be present at the maneuvers a little before the jump-off which preceded the assault of the highly organized position between Laacher See and Kruft by all the forces formed into a division. All elements were provided with live ammunition and all arms fired over the heads of the various waves. This is the first time I have ever had a problem of this class carried out with a unit as large as a division, all using live ammunition. General Morland joined us out there. Gen-

eral Pershing has thus far had little to say in comment and practically nothing in the way of criticism. I am delighted, however, to have as good a soldier as he is see the working of these troops and inspect them and their activities. There was quite a delegation of officers from each of the other armies to assist at the exercises, and all were invited to lunch with me in the field. The food was cooked in rolling kitchens and served on the little flat just west of Kruft. Possibly the magnitude of the problem to-day with the quantity of live ammunition employed sets a record in our service.

September 29. We started for Mainz a little after nine o'clock, Hale, Johnston, and Hay included, to visit General Degoutte and "see some French troops," as he expressed it. The cavalry escort met General Pershing at the cemetery, and from the time we reached the bridge to the arrival at the reviewing stand facing the Plaza, soldiers lined both sides of the streets at intervals of about three yards. The Plaza was filled in with the staff and troops of all branches. In the march-by only the troops thus massed participated. All in all this was the biggest military show I have ever known staged in Mainz, and it was followed by a lunch at the Grand Ducal Palace. Degoutte showed himself more radical than I had ever known him. He contends that, if France cannot have repairs made and get her reparations money in accordance with the treaty, Germany's forests, factories, and mines should be seized if necessary and exploited with German labor under French supervision. Marquis de Champinay, a friend of the du Souzys from Beaujolais, was there. Degoutte told me that his family were retainers of the Marquis's family before the Revolution, and added, "J'ai l'honneur de vous le dire."

After a long delay, news came this morning that the economic sanctions are to be lifted to-morrow at midnight. In the mean time the mark has dropped to 126. Tirard's dinner gave Pershing a chance, which I much desired, of talking to both Tirard and Rolin. To my great

surprise the latter came over to see me at 7.30, bringing the insignia of the Grand Officier with the diploma of the Order of Leopold, to exchange it for my order of the Crown, which is considered in a less important category. Although they attach much importance to this matter, I was not particularly interested in the change due to my ignorance of the difference.

September 30. The inspection and review terminating our annual field training took place on the air field this morning, and was made by General Pershing in the presence of Generals Degoutte, Morland, Pouydraguin, and the various officers who were decorated with the D.S.M. These were General Hennocque, a descendant of Lafayette, and Schmidt, Commandant of Mainz; and Colonels Frid, Herring, and Du Bois, the last named of the Belgian Army. These decorations were bestowed on my recommendation. The command as it stood to-day, in field fitness, shooting capacity, and appearance, is probably the best group of soldiers of that size that the United States has ever possessed. Pershing said of my 90th Division, "It is one of the best, if not the best, division I ever inspected." The A.F. in G., "Allen's Family in Germany," is far ahead of the 90th as a whole, though I tenderly cherish the high soldierly qualities of my old division and its marvelous exploits. It never failed to secure its objective; it always held what it got; and it had no stragglers.

All of yesterday was devoted to preparing for to-day, and the cleaning and burnishing has been done to the limit by every one present. The transport looked thoroughly well in spite of almost a month in the field. After the review, the visiting generals were free in their praise. General Degoutte said, "If your chief is not satisfied with that command, he does not know good soldiers." Thus far Pershing has been rather silent with regard to his comments, but he will probably express himself in writing as he suggests; in any event the troops are up to my expectations. I had a stag lunch of twenty covers, especially for the decorated officers, but, as General

Pershing's train left at 1.50, we hurried through a five-course lunch in thirty minutes. I toasted General Pershing, with whom I included the newly decorated officers. General Hennocque replied. General Morland was the only English officer present. I wore my helmet for the first time since the war in commanding the troops at the ceremonies this morning. Payot put Marshal Pétain's car at the disposal of Pershing and was present at the station to see him off.

October 1. A holiday was given the command to-day as a compensation for the month's strenuous field work. I had about decided not to go to Paris for the bestowal of the Congressional Medal on the *Poilu Inconnu*, but Pershing thought it best for me to be there; hence with Dunn I boarded the train to-day.

October 2. We arrived in Paris on time, and went to the Crillon to accompany Pershing to the new hôtel of Mr. Herrick, where the entire personnel of the Embassy plus Niblack were assembled. By some mismanagement, the Ambassador, Pershing, and Niblack moved out in one car. Many troops and celebrities were around the Place des Étoiles and the Arc. Nearly all the members of the Cabinet and the five marshals, Joffre, Foch, Pétain, Fayolle, and d'Esperey, were there. Our Ambassador made the first speech, followed by Pershing, who placed the Congressional Medal on a cushion at the head of the tomb. M. Barthou, Minister of War, made the third and last speech. The march-by was headed by my headquarters band and the provisional battalion from Coblenz. Never have I seen a better-looking exhibit of foot-soldiers than this battalion. They were much applauded, and every one, including the French, recognizes that there were no foot-soldiers in the procession comparable to them.

I talked with M. Jusserand at the Arc, and, in reply to my expression of preference for smiling fields and active smokestacks, he said France would be required to keep her present forces until she had assurances of security equal in strength to them — until there is a permanent peace.

GENERAL PERSHING AND GENERAL ALLEN ENTERING THE GROUNDS OF THE LATTER ON RHEINANLAGEN

"Mr. Ambassador, there can be no permanent peace, but we should make it as long a peace as possible," I replied.

His answer to that was, "Then we must have an army ready."

We lunched with M. Barthou at the Hôtel du Ministre de la Guerre, which was formerly occupied by Lætitia, the mother of Napoleon. The lunch was purely a military one, comprising the same five marshals, and Generals Dubail, Buat, and Berdoullat. I sat on Marshal Foch's left during the lunch, and he narrated the incident of my nearly running him down on the highway south of Châlons during the first battle of the Marne, and how he had sent me to Marshal Joffre's headquarters. The story seemed very entertaining to the party, and he seemed to enjoy telling it very much. Much of the table service was from Sèvres and some of it had been used probably by Lætitia.

I had a conference with Ward, Harjes, and Connor, relative to the part the Legionaries should play in the ceremonies connected with sending home our Unknown.

October 3. I had a long talk with Mr. Herrick this morning about the situation in Germany, but at times I doubted whether he was following me, in his preoccupation. He was much interested in telling me of the efforts that Chaplain Beekman had made to have the hour of the recent ceremony changed, even going so far as to wire the State Department. Pershing remains at the Crillon, where I saw him this morning. I lunched with the Jusserands at 28 place du Président Wilson, where they have a *pied-à-terre* on the fourth floor. At the meal were only ex-Ambassador Johnson of Rome and his wife and Madame Jusserand's sister, and that is truly about as many as the apartment and their installation would permit. Johnson was many years with the Century Company. Madame Jusserand was born of American parents, but had never been in the United States until her husband went there as Ambassador nineteen years ago. Her sister, even older, has not yet been over. It was stated emphatically that Mr. Harvey's

Fourth-of-July speech did say that our entrance into the war was for material interests.

I have been going continuously to-day. As a result of conversations with the Ambassador, Pershing, Mott, and Rethers, I have practically decided on the manner and ceremony connected with sending home our Unknown dead soldier. He will not lie in state in Paris, but will go straight from Châlons to Havre. The French authorities are willing to do anything desired, but prefer that he do not come to Paris. That is quite natural and fully meets my views, for the numerous receptions and ceremonies that Paris must endure is an enormous burden.

To-night we dined with Marshal Pétain at the Café de Paris, Pershing being the guest of honor. There were present chiefly the senior general staff officers under the Marshal, Buat, Chief of Staff, his three heads of bureaux, generals, and certain staff colonels. The relations between Pétain and Pershing are getting to be a cult which it is quite interesting and amusing to note, since Pétain speaks barely a word of English and Pershing's French is somewhat limited.

October 4. At ten o'clock I went to the Crillon to confer again concerning our Unknown. The plans which we tentatively arranged were approved later by Ambassador Herrick and General Pershing. Then at the lunch of President Millerand at the Palais d'Élysée the whole was approved by him, Briand, Maginot, Minister of Pensions, who will represent the French Government, and Marshal Foch, who will decorate the Unknown in Washington, November 11th, with the *Médaille Militaire* and the *Croix de Guerre*. The body will be selected from four brought to Châlons from different cemeteries and will be sent directly to Havre without stopping at Paris. There Maginot will decorate it with the Legion of Honor.

At the lunch given for General Pershing to-day in the same hall where Poincaré gave the *dîner de la Victoire* on July 14, 1919, there were about sixty covers which included all the Cabinet Ministers and only one woman,

Madame Millerand. Mr. Herrick sat on her right and Pershing on her left; Briand was on the President's right and Niblack on his left. I was between Briand and the Minister of the Navy. Briand was very communicative except as to present conditions in Germany. He spoke of Clemenceau's reëntry into politics and with much disfavor of Poincaré's article in this morning's *Matin*. During luncheon, he knocked over his finger-bowl and remarked, "Renversement du ministre. Cela présage le bouleversement du Ministère," at which the President laughed, but not very gleefully. When Briand saw I was enjoying his *bon mot*, he said, "Mais c'est moi; je l'ai fait." He also stated, "Your Government missed a great opportunity at this last conference of the Supreme Council of doing a fine act in Europe, by not saying with respect to the Silesian question, 'We think so and so should be done.' Every one would have been delighted and would have accepted gladly the suggestion."

My answer was that advising carried responsibility, and that might carry us deeper into European matters than our country would permit.

"Not always," he replied, "for, as is the case with the judge or a selected arbiter, only a decision is involved; and the moral prestige of America is now so great that a word would have sufficed." In a word, he thought America might counsel Europe without involving herself in military obligations. Perhaps he was right.

It happened that Maginot, about six feet, seven inches, and Foch were seated side by side at lunch. In talking to the Secretary of the Navy, I made a remark concerning the "grand homme," which he assumed referred to Foch. I countered by saying that Maginot was both "grand homme" and "homme grand."

In a conversation this morning with Boyden and Winship, arrangements were made whereby money requested from Germany should be received at the rate of the day on the Cologne exchange, and therefore there will be no further loss by exchange. I have also advanced the chances

of getting more money from Germany for our cost of occupation.

October 5. I had a session with Mr. Filene at the Crillon, and he read me a tentative report of the representatives of the United States Chamber of Commerce strongly recommending the continuation of troops on the Rhine as a stabilizing measure, as most useful in maintaining European tranquillity, and an aid to world trade.

At the Embassy I had a telegram sent to Washington outlining the ceremonies for the Unknown and saw the full dispatches Logan is sending from Berlin bearing on Germany's ability to pay. He says all know that the present terms cannot be met, but that they persist in flogging the tired horse until he falls and the chaise turns over on him.

The Ambassador gave his first party, a lunch, in his new house, avenue Messine. The Jusserands, Cornelius Vanderbilts, Mrs. Miller-Graham and daughter, Mrs. Harriman, and the Niblacks were present. One of the ladies told me of complimentary things King George had said about me, and another, who overheard them, spoke across the table a little bit later saying, "I am so glad the King approves of you." Mrs. V. informed me — whence her opinion came is not known — that I was to bestow the Congressional Medal on the British Unknown on November 11th. Strange as it may seem, thus far neither Mr. Herrick nor Pershing can get any word from London assigning a date for Pershing to do this.

October 6. There is a lull in our activities at Coblenz, following the maneuver period. Scrapping in Washington over the German treaty continues, and it seems that the chances of an early decision to move the troops are disappearing with time and the protests that are reaching Washington. If the maintenance of the forces in all the Rhineland can be brought down to 240,000,000 gold marks, as should be done, and we could get our expenses, there would be more or less contentment everywhere. As we are to get only the value of the German seized ships in

the way of reparations, say fifty to sixty million dollars, there should be no doubt about payment for all our forces on the Rhine. Our equity in that respect is not inferior to that of any country, and the Treaty of Versailles stipulates that such cost takes precedence over all other payments by Germany. But there is a sentiment that the United States is rich and so benevolently disposed toward the rest of the world, and especially toward our co-belligerents, that it will deprive itself that they may profit thereby. For some time I have been making a strong effort against these sentiments to Boyden for the purpose of increasing our money and supplies from Germany. From now on I shall be even more persistent.

October 8. This morning at General Johnston's request I formally presented a silver cup to the winning company of the 8th Infantry for excellence in appearance and conduct throughout the maneuver period. The battalion sent to Paris for the ceremony at the Arc de Triomphe and kept there awaiting Pershing's trip to London will start back to Coblenz to-morrow, because thus far the British Government has set no date for the ceremony in London. This act must be classed with a letter received to-day from the War Department stating that the British Government could not permit the officers who had been granted our D.S.M. at my request, Morland, Vincent, and others, to receive said decorations. Not to accept these after the citations and arrangements had been made, as well as the proffer, seems to be a lack of courtesy.

October 10. Dresel came down this morning from Wiesbaden for a little conference and returned in the afternoon. He is much interested and *au courant* with German matters, but the Administration has not yet seen fit to express a preference for him as Ambassador in Berlin. We had definite information to-day that General Pershing will not visit England to confer the Congressional Medal on the British Unknown. My battalion came back from Paris, and it now seems that the British Government had

had no official knowledge from Washington of Pershing's intention. In any event, there has been a useless and exasperating mistake somewhere that the enemies of the two countries will exploit.

A telegram from Pershing now wants the provisional battalion and the headquarters band to go from here to London for the ceremony. It develops that it was the War Office rather than the Foreign Office that found so many objections to an early decision. The whole thing was unprecedented, and therefore required careful consideration. Might a decoration be accepted under present ruling, and what decoration should England bestow in turn?

October 14. The sudden death of Senator Knox has put off discussion of the separate treaty with Germany. This document is considered by some so unfair in principle to our co-belligerents that it is quite possible it may not be ratified, provided we could get an early ratification of the Versailles Treaty modified to suit our requirements. The recommendation of the League of Nations concerning Silesia, which the Supreme Council is bound to accept, has caused sufficient consternation in Germany to make the mark tumble to 141.

This afternoon I have had very serious talks with Rolin and Tirard concerning certain events which have taken place in the Rhineland due to the action of French officials, Colonel Belin in Bonn, General Payot in Ludwigshafen, and General de Metz in Speyer. Rolin was not abreast of the details of these matters, but was for the most part in accord with my views. Tirard can with difficulty censure acts of French officials because not to uphold them would seem to be at variance with the rights of victors in occupied territory. While I understand this thought, it is not possible for me, as the representative of our country, to share it. In plain language, we were violating our own ordinances and failing to admit it, much less punish our officials when they were wrong. The Commission has no right under the Agreement to govern in the Rhineland, and we cannot

usurp the administration or control of affairs unless the maintenance, security, and requirements of the armies are involved. If some of the communications that have been exchanged were given publication in the United States, they would be badly received. What has been designated as a "slight error" was, in my opinion, grievous; instead of commending the acts of these officials, I think they should be reprimanded. Political conditions in France make heavy demands on Tirard which he must satisfy, and in consequence his position is at times most difficult. Naturally we talk much more freely in our offices on matters of this sort than we do at public sessions. Being only unofficial representative on the Commission, my right to talk is a technical one based chiefly on our trade interests which are impaired by such procedure as keeps conditions upset. Fortunately we are able to indulge in talks of this kind and yet separate in a most friendly manner.

The following telegram from Ambassador Harvey bears on General Pershing's visit to London:

I again approached the Foreign Office yesterday afternoon and learned that the delay arose, not in the Foreign Office, which is fully aware of the significance of the honor and entirely favorable thereto, but in the War Office, whose attitude may be summed up as follows: that such an honor had never before been conferred; they had to consider the circumstances for which there was no precedent; that in view of the unusual importance of this high honor they were forced to consider what reciprocal honor it might be possible for the British Government to bestow; that the relevant laws, rules, and regulations for the acceptance by officials of the British Government of foreign medals and decorations further complicated the situation; and that it was believed that the acceptance of this medal would entail similar action upon the part of other Allied Governments.

October 15. At our Commission session, Tirard agreed to a censure of de Metz, and a letter to von Brandt informing him of this action, saying nothing about v. B.'s conduct. I truly fail to understand why Tirard feels compelled as presiding officer to talk as much as he does. At times,

however, I must confess he scores successfully by first getting a very small advantage, and then, assuming that to be generally approved, builds on it for further agreement. In this he is exceptionally clever.

At the reception by the Commission of the new Reichskommissar, Prince Hatzfeldt, Tirard presented him to us in the parlors of his residence.

October 16. To Paris with J., the Sturgeses, and Sumner. The cars as far as Thionville, where we changed, were old and dirty, combining in the same coach all classes, but with our two meals and bridge-playing, the time passed quickly. The almost total eclipse of the moon was easily visible from the car window, and we also had a good view of the devastation around and at Verdun, revealing the terrible struggle there. For magnitude of operations and losses, perhaps Verdun has never had an equal. It was there that the German morale was hit almost as hard as at the first battle of the Marne.

At the dinner given to Marshal Foch to-night by Mr. Herrick, covers were laid for twenty, which included the Italian Ambassador, Jules Cambon, Count Chambrun, M. Herbette, Recouly, Lauzanne, Roberts, Hyde, Desticker, and Danielou. The Ambassador and the Marshal were the only ones to make speeches, and they were most brief. It nearly always happens that Marshal Foch takes my arm on leaving the table, probably to show me his appreciation of our administration on the Rhine, and to-night was not an exception.

October 18. This morning I went to see Rethers. We settled practically all the details as to transfer, the ceremonies, and the embarking on the *Olympia*. Pershing is back from London, very much pleased with his trip, the delay of which he attributed to British conservatism. The ceremony was, he said, very fine, and we no longer had any complaint to register. He was in civilian clothes and expressed regret that I had not been with him, saying that our soldiers made an extraordinary appearance. He consented to my request that the 50th Infantry be not made

inactive, that no provisional Rhine units be demobilized, and that the organization would be largely up to me on the supposition that the forces be brought down to 8000.

The first session of the army costs conference took place to-day with Tannéry of the French delegation presiding. It soon developed that the Americans and British were willing to agree to a total annual payment by the Germans for the upkeep of all the forces of 240,000,000 gold marks, but that the French and Belgians were not. They want their share paid in francs. I made it known that we had only 12,000 soldiers and are sending home about 800 monthly, and that for the general welfare and economy I was willing to decrease our forces to 8000, which I would recommend. Weygand argued that the present strength should be maintained on the Rhine. Without wishing to inject any political question into the conference, I declared that, in the present state of German disarmament, a smaller force would suffice than when the present numbers had been fixed and when Germany had had at least twice as many men under arms as she now has. Weygand replied that these numbers were fixed in accordance with higher policy and hence it was not a question for the conference. Boyden made a very satisfactory short speech concerning the intent of the Supreme Council to fix the total sum at 240,000,000. This was supported by the British. After three hours' discussion, broken by recess for tea, served at one end of this huge and beautiful hall, it was decided to designate a committee to study and report on the costs of billets, supplies, and requisitions furnished. The British were the only ones who claimed that they were unable to do this within less than a few weeks. It became evident that no discussion of the effectives or a fixed sum such as 240,000,000 would be considered, and therefore in my opinion this conference will not accomplish much.

October 19. At 3 P.M. I accompanied Pershing to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was given an enormous reception and the City Medal, the highest distinction Paris can confer. There were cordial speeches, a long concert pro-

gramme with dancing, and finally tea. Mr. Herrick was there and places of honor were given us three, to me, of course, as Commander of the American Rhineland Forces. The Medal was presented immediately on arrival, in one of the antechambers, the speeches were made in the grand hall, and the refreshments served in the superb social hall. The Hôtel de Ville is an enormous structure. I am sure that the cordiality of this reception was in a measure to emphasize France's action in contrast to England's delay.

October 20. The papers this morning are full of the bomb explosion yesterday about 7 P.M. in Mr. Herrick's house. The machine was in a small box covered with paper, bearing the name of the perfumer Coty, and it came in the mail. Mr. Herrick's valet opened the box in the bedroom of the Ambassador and hearing a slight noise (the fuse), threw the whole thing into the toilet room. All this happened just as the Ambassador, his daughter-in-law, and grandson were going upstairs to their bedrooms on their return from the ceremony at the Hôtel de Ville. Later in the day I called on Mr. Herrick. Piles of cards had been left expressing sympathy and congratulations on his escape. He seemed to be more apprehensive lest something should have happened to his grandson than about himself, and showed himself very calm under the circumstances.

Bemelman, at a lunch in his apartment to-day, assembled most of the conference delegates. This gave me an opportunity to speak separately to them as follows: We should agree on some annual amount, whether or not it be 240,000,000 gold marks; it is of no importance whether payment be made in gold marks or in equivalent national currency at actual rate of exchange; the United States, which is not demanding reparations, should have all its current costs paid by Germany, leaving accumulated pay for other decisions; the conference should in some way give expression to the importance of American holding with our present numbers; and this with the costs actually paid would largely influence American public opin-

ion which does not approve in principle of having our soldiers in Central Europe.

I sat for a while this afternoon on the subcommittee working at the Hotel Astoria, presided over by the French Comptroller-General Boone, in their laborious and extended efforts to determine the cost per man of each of the armies concerned. My rents, requisitions, and claims officer and my quartermaster financial officer arrived this morning and are now working there with Hess and Sturges. In this computation the French credit the Germans for transportation of soldiers and members of military families with three paper pfennigs per kilometre for first-class fare, two for second, and one for third. Of course such sums in no way pay the actual cost of this transportation; yet they are willing to go on record as defending this procedure.

J. and I called on the Herricks to express our sympathy and congratulations this afternoon.

October 21. It developed at our conference this afternoon when the report of the subcommittee was read that the total effectives is a sacred subject not to be touched at all by us, and that as I proposed the diminution of the American forces the others might profit by this to increase their own. The British were of the same opinion as ourselves, but when they found that the others were insisting upon the large original numbers, they, too, declared their intention of maintaining 16,000, whereas they have at present only a few thousand. A proposed draft of the outlines of our report to the Supreme Council was submitted for study. As simple as all this seems, we sat there in conference from three o'clock until after seven, engaged in talk which seemed to me largely useless. Tannéry, the presiding officer, indulges in much extraneous talk that simply retards progress.

October 22. Marshal Foch left this morning for the United States. To-day, finally, the proposed outlines of a report were taken up at the conference, but not found satisfactory. It develops that the verbiage permits the

several states to get a lump sum; France alone is to have the equivalent of two hundred million gold marks, whether or not her forces are below the maximum number specified. In a word, it would have been in the nature of an annual tribute on which her delegates were unwilling to have an adjustment committee pass. That, taken with the low rate credited to Germany for rail personnel traffic and the accredited allowance of only eight hundred paper marks per year for a family billet, clearly shows France's attitude toward the financial phase of her holding. Boyden is proving very valuable by reason of his legal training and his previous sittings on Reparations Commissions. To my regret the conference adjourned until Thursday. Yesterday Briand assured Parliament that France's policy is to maintain the military sanctions, while only a few weeks ago he assured the Supreme Council that they would be lifted as soon as the Silesian matter was settled.

October 23. A dispatch just received from Washington states that the Secretary of War has already ordered withdrawal of our troops until the total is half the present strength. The fall of the Wirth Cabinet is a great misfortune at the present time and is undoubtedly due to the decision on the Silesian matter.

To-night I dined with Mrs. Hickox to meet Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Morgan. There were present Mrs. Grevell, a Scotchwoman whom I met in London, Mrs. Hamilton and her son and his wife. The dinner was exquisitely appointed in the beautiful apartment.

October 24. S. and I lunched with Harjes at the Ritz, and we three immediately afterwards started for Châlons, by automobile. We reached our destination at four o'clock and had tea with General Dupont. By five o'clock we were at the Cathedral where we were welcomed by the Prefect and the Mayor. The casket was almost hidden under wreaths and bouquets. The first to speak was General Dupont. Then the Mayor, M. Servas, replied, and I followed, also speaking in French.

The population of the city is 30,000, but there were

fully 35,000 people massed in the plaza and in the streets. Many were in tears as the procession passed along. At the station all the troops and organizations passed by the Unknown rendering him honors. The whole ceremony was finely carried out.

October 25. At Havre we followed the Unknown to the pier where the *Olympia* was docked. The streets were thronged with people, probably to the number of 100,000. There were three speeches at the pier, the Mayor's, then mine, then that of the Minister, who ended by pinning the insignia of the Legion of Honor to the flag covering the casket.

After this event I formally turned over the body to Admiral Chandler, who had it carried aboard the *Olympia* by a guard of marines. We waited to see the *Olympia* under way with the many crowns, wreaths, and bouquets tendered by the two cities, and thus the European end of this transfer has been accomplished.

CHAPTER XIII

GERMANY BANKRUPT

A Halloween costume party — Foch's reception in America — Europe stirred by Washington Arms Conference — A trip to London — A fox-hunt — Lord Curzon is cordial — Sir Henry Wilson's views — Dr. Rathenau — Henry T. Allen, 3d, is born in Paris — Concerning British manners — Visiting John Sargent in his studio — The squabble over Smeets — The Tirard steam roller — France's fear still dominates — Germany admits her bankruptcy — Ambassador Herrick urges American discrimination against Germans — The German railway strike — Mrs. Allen sails for America — Hunting wild hogs — Poincaré succeeds Briand — France insists upon her pound of flesh.

October 29, 1921. Halloween was celebrated with a large fancy-dress dinner party, vaudeville, and dancing at the Club. On our departure yesterday from Paris, Mr. Herrick was still receiving threatening notes. This was Jeannette's first visit to Paris since she left there as a baby. She was born at Hôtel l'Athénée, long since torn down, on boulevard Haussmann near the Opéra.

October 30. The reception given Foch in America is, from all newspaper accounts, almost beyond the record. He and Pershing are making the rounds in the East, and seemingly they have forgotten the differences that surged strongly between them at times during the war.

November 2. The plenary session of our costs conference takes place on Thursday, and I start for Paris to-day. The press is full of the Washington Conference, at which France hopes to get some guaranty for her security such as was promised by Lloyd George and Wilson at the discussions preliminary to the Versailles Treaty. In the mean time she is pressing Germany in every possible manner and the mark is steadily dropping — at present about 180.

I have given the officers the option of studying French or German this winter. Last winter German was compulsory.

A cable came from Washington saying that the reduction of the forces to 5200 men and 372 officers is final. That

settles the matter, and I have given Hay instructions to proceed with the reduction.

November 3. We arrived at nine o'clock and are well installed in the Ritz. I went up to confer with Boyden and Logan and found there Vanderlip and Mr. Stewart, a Chicago banker. Vanderlip talked much about the European financial disorders and his international billion dollar bank reserve scheme, with the parent establishment in Switzerland. This plan presents unsurmountable difficulties — securing the billion capital, the question of taxation, injury to the currency of various states, and the inability of a state like Germany to become a member. Stewart thinks the chances of raising the billion are good.

November 5. Had lunch with the Whitehouses yesterday, where I met the Alexanders, parents of his wife. Alexander is Vice-President-General of the Order of the Cincinnati.

We sat only two hours on the Conference this afternoon, and it is now possible to see an end to our work. We finished the report on the cost of the armies, and a little heat was developed between the British and French representatives, rather more than usual. I told Weygand that there would be no difficulty in holding our zone even with our reduced numbers. This I did to let him know that it was not desirable to have any large influx of French into the American zone. The long period of dry weather has been followed by what the A.E.F. will always consider "French weather."

November 6. Harvey's Liverpool speech was strongly criticized by the French press and the American press is also attacking him for it. Solbert, our Military Attaché at London, came to me with a message from Mr. Harvey as follows: He cannot leave England as long as Lloyd George remains in London; that L. G. is almost the entire Government, and that he will not go to Washington; that he is quite anxious to see me and, since he cannot now come to Coblenz, he would like to have me come to him.

November 9. On returning from Paris yesterday I found the mark was about 300 to the dollar. No one can say

what will be the fate of this unit. My forces will be a reinforced brigade in the near future. Robertson called this morning with his successor, Lord Kilmarnock, who comes from Berlin bringing a letter from Dresel. He seems to be a sturdy Scotchman, and is very quiet. In various ways he is the antithesis of Robertson, and it may be that he has been sent here on that account.

The mark has risen fifty points since yesterday, which shows how sensitive the market is to a measure looking toward a change in the reparations. Tirard objects to having a composite committee in the Commission study and report to the Supreme Council on reductions. I presume Tirard's conception of his duties to his country and to Germany must be largely influenced by what he conceives would have been done had the French been vanquished. I have little sympathy with a spirit of vindictiveness in any form. Man's relations to his fellow man suffer from such a course without any possible increment in happiness to the world.

November 11. *Armistice Day.* The President has ordered the flag to be at half staff this day, but the Germans are in no way giving heed to the anniversary of this fateful event for them. All the shops were open. After all, it would be difficult to say whether this anniversary appears to be a day of rejoicing or a day of mourning. President Harding's proclamation makes it almost a day of mourning, perhaps on account of the burial of our Unknown in Washington to-day. Our services here have partaken of the nature of both. At the Y huts and at the Fest Halle there were religious services, with bowed heads for two minutes everywhere at noon; but in the afternoon we had our last race meet, followed by boxing at Liberty Hut.

November 13. Hughes's proposal for a ten-year holiday in shipbuilding is causing an international flutter. The President's statement on the opening of the Conference was strong: "The world's hundred million who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn expenditures for destruction into means for construction."

November 14. At last we are at peace with Germany. Prince Hatzfeldt came over to call and congratulate me on the signing of the treaty.

Nothing definite has been decided with regard to our social attitude toward Prince Hatzfeldt, the new Reichskommissar, though I shall probably wait until Tirard has acted. It is a question as to whether we should invite him to dinner.

November 27. Arrived this morning at Victoria Station, London. We were met by the Ambassador's car and driven to his house at 29 Chesham Place, where we now are. Lord d'Abernon crossed the Channel with us. His arrival here and that of Sir John Bradbury are connected with Rathenau's presence in London. I talked with Mr. Harvey until nearly midnight. Mrs. Sanford called me up by phone and asked me there to-morrow for the hunt, leaving the city by the 7.50 train.

November 28. While I did not wish to disturb the Harvey household by such an early departure from London, I found it fitted much better with the Sanford plans for me to hunt with them now than later in the week, and I therefore arrived here at Dalby Hall, Melton, this morning. The fog was so thick in London on our way to the station that much time was required in reaching it, even though the chauffeur and the footman were well acquainted with the city. Mrs. Sanford and Mrs. Potter met us at the Melton Station and drove us out to the meet of the Quorn hounds in Belvoir country. Such a large number of exceptionally fine hunters I have never seen, and perhaps it cannot be surpassed anywhere in England or elsewhere. My horse was an old-timer who took his jumps under protest, but under pressure he did fairly well. In any event we were in the saddle six hours, five at a pretty continuous hunt, and one on the road home. We stopped at General Vaughan's for tea and had our car meet us there. Although tea is the term applied for such refreshments in this hunting country, it is nevertheless most substantial, including omelettes and meat of various kinds. We made two kills and ran two to ground.

November 29. This was our second day's hunt, this time with the Cottesmore hounds in a field of about one hundred and fifty riders. At the very first jump, my horse went into a ditch on the off side of the fence and went down, but without doing any harm to himself or me. The day was exceptionally good; one kill was made and three run to ground. May Ladenberg, Mrs. Burden, and Janie Sanford all came croppers, as did a number of men. Both Hutchinson and myself have been quite sore from these two strenuous days. My second horse to-day was a specially good one. The M.F.H., Barnaby, an ex-army officer, married Thomas Nelson Page's daughter. The hunt to-day lasted about two hours longer than yesterday and was full of hard riding in which there must have been sixty fences taken.

November 30. We left Dalby Hall at eleven o'clock and had as a traveling companion Mrs. Burden. Her fall yesterday was not serious. The rail service in England is everywhere comfortable with good facilities for eating always at hand. In London the Ambassador's car met us and we returned to his house. Mr. Harvey was still waiting lunch for us at 2.30. For the most part he lives in his study or office and rarely goes to the Embassy. He says when he had eight secretaries he got little done, and that now with three he does about six times as much. Mr. and Mrs. Harvey, Hutchinson, and myself dined with Mrs. Potter at the Carlton, and some of us later went to an English *revue* which showed some of the dullest efforts at wit I have seen on the stage in many years.

December 1. To the Foreign Office by appointment; was cordially received by Lord Curzon, who talked freely and frankly about the Washington Conference, France, and Germany. I greeted him by saying, "You have been hitting too many nails on the head." His reply was, "No one knows that better than you." When told that the absence of explicit instructions from the Supreme Council prevented the army cost conference from doing effective work, he recalled that the hurry of the last days of the Supreme Council meetings and the way in which the deci-

sions are drawn up are indicative of the unsatisfactory results attained. He was pleased that I approved England's ready acceptance of a naval parity with us. He said that it is enough for France to know that England favors a given measure to oppose it; that she had done an unfortunate act in the Kemal affair; that if she kept her uncontrolled (*sic*) army, organized her aerial fleet, and had numerous submarines, she would dominate Europe; that Briand went to the United States to mediate between England and that country, and once there found us working hand in hand, and that he, Curzon, wanted to work in the closest relations with the United States in world politics and likewise with France in European affairs. He asked whether I had talked with any one at the War Office. I replied that my next visit would be on Sir Henry Wilson. He said, "I know you will have a better time than I will have with my next visitor who is now waiting." Although he gave me his name, I do not see fit to put it here.

I found Sir Henry as buoyantly Irish as ever and likewise more humorous than ever. The Irish question was uppermost in his mind. He would adopt a complete formula of control or he would withdraw the troops from Ireland. In the latter case he would have twenty-three battalions to quarter for which in the whole country he could find place for only eleven, thus leaving twelve without barracks. To meet this situation he had conferred with Foch, "dear old boy," on the expediency of putting them in the Rhineland where there are accommodations, but not as an occupying force. He noted I had become a "frock"; that the "frocks" are woefully ignorant of many things; that they did not know that a ten-year holiday in shipbuilding was impracticable until the sailor boys told them about it, and likewise that cruisers of ten thousand tons would have little value for empire purposes, while the ten-thousand-ton monitor would carry an eighteen-inch gun, and that therefore the limitation should be on the size of the guns. Independent of the United States, England should guarantee France against Germany; Lloyd George and Curzon would

not support that idea, but Winston (Churchill) is strong for it; the French had been left in the lurch by the Allies and Associated Powers.

I would gladly have stayed longer and have had tea with him, had not my appointment with Dr. Rathenau been already overdue. Dr. R. was waiting for me at the Carlton, and almost as soon as we met I suggested taking him over to the Ambassador's. He gladly consented, and said he would talk fully and frankly about Germany. He is here as a private citizen, but will report fully to Dr. Wirth. Do what they may in Germany under present conditions, the governmental expenses will exceed the revenues by about two billion gold marks. The only present method of meeting this deficit is to sell paper marks. His talk throughout was very serious and evidently successful in impressing Mr. Harvey. The Versailles Treaty is not practicable, and the League of Nations did Germany a great wrong relative to Upper Silesia. The question of reparations and this act destroyed confidence in Germany's capacity to carry on, and in consequence the mark dropped from 60 to 300 to the dollar. The rapid rise in the past three days is to be deplored because the confidence inspired may be misplaced. There is as yet no positive indication that Germany will get a loan in London. The President of the Bank of England will give an answer to-morrow. Rathenau thinks the people of the United States should stand behind the utterances of Wilson whom they elected, just as they hold the people of Germany responsible for William (*sic*) whom they did not elect. To this Mr. Harvey added, "You inherited him." R. greatly fears France will go into the Ruhr in case Germany is unable to meet her payments, and thinks the interested states should take steps to prevent it. He realizes that England's protest alone would not be heeded by France, but that the United States must add hers. About this he was serious to the point of being tragic.

December 2. We are having the cold, rainy weather that so often characterizes England and drives the people to the Continent and elsewhere in search of sunshine. We pur-

chased tickets this morning for our trip back to-morrow, and in doing so noted the very roundabout way in which all this sort of thing is carried out. The numerous places to be visited to secure these tickets leave the impression that the British must be awakened if they are to compete on an even footing with America or Germany.

A telegram from Sumner announces the birth of Henry T. Allen, 3d, in Paris, on December 1st. I sent Juliette a telegram and also wrote her a letter from the Carlton.

About 2.30 I went to the War Office to see General Godley, Military Secretary, but this hour was too early. His messenger would not permit us to wait in his office, but made us remain outside where there was not even a chair. The extraordinary part of it is that the Britisher is not aware of anything peculiar in such treatment. We continually notice the difference between the English and French manners on the Rhine, greatly to the disadvantage of the former.

We went with Mesdames Sanford and Potter to John Sargent's house where he was having an Italian woman play and sing some weird Oriental music. Sargent, who has not painted portraits for several years, has received an order from the British Government to paint the twenty-three top generals on one canvas. He says he must finish it in a few months, otherwise it will finish him. He looks to be about sixty-five years old, and is very fond of the peculiar Oriental music.

December 3. The Harveys left for Brighton, and we boarded our train for Coblenz. We had the usual good rail service to Dover and crossed the Channel, rough this time, to Ostend, where we had something to eat, then left for Cologne. The weather is really cold, much colder this year than last. The Harveys confidently reckon on passing Christmas with us on the Rhine. He has not yet wholly got away from his election screeds that appeared in *Harvey's Weekly* prior to and during the war, and some of his public utterances have not been those of an orthodox diplomat. During my conversations with Curzon, Sir Henry Wilson,

and d'Abernon not one word was said about the American Ambassador; yet he seems to be on good terms with everybody. In his own house he is most agreeable and insists on his guests doing as they please. He never has tea, perhaps because he is not accustomed to it at home and because he dislikes it, but his good wife at times orders coffee for afternoon visitors. In talking with this couple and in seeing them in their own house, I am strongly reminded of the Charles Emory Smiths in Russia. Both men had rare journalistic talents, both had marked capacity for making friends in limited circles, and both had most capable and hospitable wives not caring greatly for society.

December 6. On my arrival yesterday I made an inspection of our kennels, and sent Mott a telegram asking him to serve as my proxy as godfather for the new baby. Just why the grandfather should be asked for this service I know not, but Juliette wants it.

This winter has thus far been colder than any preceding one of our occupation. Skating is general on the Mosel, and the Rhine pontoon bridge was removed to-day on account of the floating ice.

The Harrys propose to call the baby Edouard Henri du Souzy Allen, which seems to me foolish. He should either have H.'s name and mine or else his French grandfather's and not a hybrid name. The christening is a very formal ceremony and is supposed to demand my presence in Paris.

Tirard arrived to-day and gave notice that a session would be held in the house of Rolin, who is indisposed, to "discuss a political matter for which the lawyers would not be required." Of course it meant the Smeets case on which there have been two plenary sessions and one technical session. Tirard made an impassioned speech setting forth the attitude of his Government — he had just left Briand in Paris — and stating that his career was at stake; that the matter was not to be considered in a judicial sense, which was of no importance to him, but in its political aspect; and that public opinion in France is greatly excited. His advocacy of this cause was worthy of a stage setting.

Rolin as usual kept his feet on the ground, and said he wanted to find a solution that should be based on the law, while Kilmarnock asked Tirard to repeat a part of his utterances, implying that he wanted to give the benefit of them to his Government. There was an evident attempt on Tirard's part to cut me out of the discussion by designating the case as political and my presence as unofficial. All this I admitted, but I asked whether the High Commission expected me, who publish its ordinances in this zone as my orders, to consider them as not binding in political cases and whether it did not consider them as law and supreme. I also stated that this whole matter was of importance in my zone and that therefore I was more than usually interested. Thereupon Tirard admitted that the ordinances are supreme, but that he was speaking *officiellement* in a closed session where he felt he should be frank and honest in his utterances to his colleagues. Afterwards in conversation with him one could have believed that his convictions were identical with mine. It is truly difficult to understand the utterances and arguments made under these conditions, when he feels that his policies or those of his Government are threatened, without considering him a special pleader.

Smeets is a flighty journalist who is advocating the Rhine Republic, in a journal of the same name, *Die Rheinische Republik;* and he has been arrested and convicted by the German authorities on German soil, for offenses against German subjects on several counts that seem entirely valid. Every move by Tirard in connection with this matter thus far is at variance with the spirit of our ordinances and with the rights accorded to Germany by Article V of the Rhineland Agreement. Whether or not his career be involved as he says, I cannot give him support in this case, which was put over until to-morrow.

December 8. We had a two-and-a-half-hour session of the Commission to-day beginning at the silly hour of noon, on the Smeets case. Tirard and Rolin have drawn up an agreement which they pushed through in spite of the opposition of Kilmarnock and possibly their own convictions.

I submitted my views in writing as an argument against the Rolin-Tirard paper, and specifically requested that they be incorporated in the minutes. I detest this policy of sacrificing our ordinances, judicial consideration, and fairness to political exigency; yet I am glad that some sort of compromise brought about unity between the three. I could not, however, when asked by Tirard what I thought of the results, agree to them, and therefore refrained from expressing any approval, somewhat to his chagrin. The Commission declares that it has only released Smeets from prison, and that it expresses no opinion as to his guilt, which must be determined. To do that, it had to indulge in the fiction that his action was continuous from before the Armistice, whereas the acts concerned in the present case are recent, distinct, and separate.

I have read much of Field Marshal Robertson's book sent me by Houghton Mifflin Company, which they indicate might be useful in a way to me in writing a book which they want me to do. I answered them expressing appreciation of their suggestion and offer, and stated that an attempt would be made, that I would begin collecting data and preparing an outline. To-night J. and I have been engaged in wrapping up Christmas presents intended for the States.

December 9. Tirard started immediately for Paris following the session of yesterday, but left word that he earnestly hoped I would not have my remarks inserted in the record. Unfortunately I cannot comply, because in my opinion it is well for him and all to know that such a steam roller process as he applies at times should not be approved by us, who stand solely for justice and right, and not for political exigencies. Kilmarnock was pleased to learn that my written statement would not be withdrawn, and Rolin also hoped it would be left on record. This shows that with Rolin political expediency is making a strong demand. Later in the day he came around with his compatriot, the Governor of Malmédy, and remained for bridge, but we referred to the Smeets case only in a jocular way.

Under the new German treaty, the President might very well designate a High Commissioner here, and should he be indifferently qualified for the duties, it would make this delicate situation most unsatisfactory.

December 14. To-day at the Praesidium, at 2.30, we had the beginning of a series of meetings to be held for the purpose of hearing representatives of the various professions, businesses, and trades, with a view to giving aid in clearing up misunderstandings and to assist the Rhinelanders. We had the mayors of the various cities in the occupied territory and heads of commercial enterprises in the session. The questions of trade, customs licenses, transports, and billeting were discussed. In some of Tirard's early remarks it became clear that his purpose was to consider and treat with the Rhineland as though it were not Prussian. The secretary of the Cologne mayoralty quickly saw whither the discussion was leading, and interrupted to say that the Rhineland, though occupied, should be treated in principle like the rest of Germany. They suspect that France reckons on some political move toward separatism by these meetings.

December 15. General Degoutte arrived. His mission was to show me the necessity of maintaining the present Allied military strength on the Rhine. Through Coleman, General Mordacq had made an effort to prepare the ground in advance by the assurance that a recent *Kriegspiel* had shown the insufficiency of the present forces, that Germany could pay but would not, and that it might be necessary to secure the Ruhr as well as to advance along the Main. He also stated that the present forces are barely adequate to serve as a cover while the armies in France are being mobilized. General Degoutte brought maps and explained all details, but I countered at the very beginning by telling him that the question could not be considered wholly from a military viewpoint; that the political point was equally important; and that he is proposing the same strength as that maintained during the past when Germany was much stronger. We went over well-known ground, political,

economic, military, and industrial. The conference lasted one and a half hours, during which I could not agree that the present forces should be maintained if better relations were to be established; that in twenty years France would have a population of only forty million as against Germany's eighty million, and that, while the proposed forces might be required from a military point in say ten years, Germany's present disarmed status did not require them now; that any effort to keep Germany down by force during this long period would keep European trade perturbed, greatly to the injury of America as well as of Europe, and in the end would be clearly to the disadvantage of France. He then spoke of France's industrial and financial distress, saying that although France had more coal than she could use, her factories are idle because of German competition, and that without full reparations France's future would continue dark. He also stated that Germany could seize the right bank of the Rhine and might reach Paris before either England or the United States could send the requisite forces. When I asked if he proposed that these big forces on the Rhine should continue indefinitely, he replied, "Until Germany has paid all." The effectives of the French white battalions are now 350 and the colored battalions 450. He offered to give me an additional battalion or regiment for Montabaur, saying that, with weaker forces, both his and mine, his battalions being thus small, we should push out farther. He also proposed taking over the Remagen bridge if I desired.

It is clear that my remarks to Weygand in Paris that, even with my reduced forces, I should not require additional troops, but should be able to hold the American zone, and my instructions to Coleman to let it be known discreetly in Mainz that I did not want to hear any proposals to send any additional troops to this area, had been duly considered.

No one could be more considerate than Degoutte is and always has been, and on this occasion he was especially so in spite of his earnest desire and probably instruc-

tions to bring me to support his views. When he spoke of Remagen I replied that it was rumored that the English wanted to have Bonn back, and that to him was a very disagreeable surprise because of the many advantages Bonn possesses as corps headquarters. Finally he asked me to have a small *Kriegspiel* to determine whether it would be possible to get along at the Montabaur heights without additional troops and to let him know about the Remagen bridge. The assistance at both these places would pertain solely to the plan of defense, to active measures, and not to the present peace status.

I have no doubt that this new map problem and the present efforts of Mordacq and Degoutte have come from my attitude at the recent army cost conference strongly supporting reductions in the army effectives in the interest of reparations and peace, and therefore in the interest of our exports. Every pound, franc, and dollar saved here would be to the advantage of the states expecting reparations. As we are not included, our views cannot be considered selfish. There is no solid reason for maintaining such forces here now, but in time Germany will, of course, come back. My question as to whether these armed camps on the Rhine should be indefinitely continued in contravention to the Versailles Treaty time limits, has not been satisfactorily answered. The only answer is, "We must hold until Germany pays and as long as our security is threatened." France's position is a most difficult one.

France must in the end recognize the necessity of living amicably by the side of a stronger antagonistic state, just as other weaker states have done throughout all history. Even the purely military viewpoint shown in this conference is based on a strongly armed, formidabel state in front of us which as to armament is a fiction. *They* now assert that cannon could be secured in considerable quantities from Scandinavia, which is also hardly probable or possible. In a word, France's fear still dominates, and I should add that memories of the European exploits of Louis XIV and Napoleon are called to mind in the present

French Rhineland policy. Failure of the Tripartite arrangement helps vindicate France.

December 16. The session of the Commission yesterday with the representatives of labor could hardly be called successful. They were bold in asking that colored troops be removed, that requisitioning and billeting be done with more consideration, and that future meetings such as this would be of no avail unless the Commission gave its support to a revision of the Versailles Treaty. This morning we held our final German session of the year to hear the agriculturists. Again the burden of the colored troops was emphasized, thus confirming the thought that their presence on the Rhine is a real grievance. By maintaining these troops here, they say France is making a sore that will not be healed in many years. One speaker stated that the Rhinelanders are far more interested in getting rid of them than in securing economic advantages. All seem to think that the French idea of having these conferences is for the purpose of accustoming the inhabitants of the Rhineland to conferences or councils under French supervision. Rolin is decidedly of the opinion that no good accrues to the Allies from these meetings. I had hoped the contrary, but my views have been changed. I left before most of the Germans did to hear the famous Mischa-Elman at the Fest Halle.

Dr. Wirth has finally stated that Germany cannot meet the payments due January 15th and February 15th, thus practically admitting or even declaring Germany bankrupt. The German Government has not been sufficiently strong to put the required heavy taxes on the rich classes.

December 17. I had a meeting with my chief of staff, heads of staff sections, and my representative at the High Commission to set forth the main events connected with my conference with General Degoutte and finally directed that they make a study of the suggestions set forth by the General. I thought they should know that the recent French *Kriegspiel* was probably brought about by my attitude at the army cost conference, advocating the reduc-

tion of the Rhine forces, and that General Degoutte's visit and Mordacq's maneuver were intended to show that the present strength is barely adequate. At noon I went over to have a talk with Tirard with respect to a letter I had received from him bearing on an extract from *Le Temps*, which claimed that the action of the Commission in the Smeets case was unanimous. He claimed this was technically correct, and that to let the French public know that the American Observer had dissented would have had a very bad effect. He was told that in the past, whenever my assent was not given, the report had been given out that the Commission decided so and so; when all agreed, it was recorded and given to the public as unanimous. He could not say what would have been the attitude of his Government had Smeets been arrested in the American zone. I did not tell him what my action would have been. I delicately suggested to him also that when he was speaking of the American zone, he was *officieux*, for my Government had never recognized the Commission's jurisdiction over the American area, all of which he admitted. It was also suggested to him that, while I was unofficially on the Commission, I was decidedly *officiel* when speaking there of the American zone, which he also admitted. He did not deny that under the new treaty with Germany we conserve our Armistice rights in addition to having also the same rights and privileges as though we had ratified the Versailles Treaty. However, Washington has made no statement whatever as to our policy under these changed conditions. We talked at some length about the Smeets case which he tells me he has taken up with Prince Hatzfeldt with a view to having it so arranged that when tried Smeets will get only a normal sentence. Under that condition the Commission will give up its hold on him. After all this discussion we separated in the most amicable manner.

Tirard told me he had written Quai d'Orsay that under the new treaty there was no reason to anticipate any difficulties here, largely because he counts upon my concilia-

tory policy. He fears the worst should Wirth's statement prove true that Germany cannot pay the January and February reparations sums. Should France decide to go into the Ruhr, it would increase the present unsatisfactory relations on the Rhine many fold and keep Europe in a worse state than at present for a long term of years.

The Germans are now claiming that France's continuous claim of poverty and her necessity for protection is a cloak to conceal her policy of dominating Europe. They say that her naval demands in Washington are preposterous and that they confirm this policy.

December 19. The greatest recent surprise in the Washington Conference is France's demand for 300,000 tons of capital ships. She will probably act as Jimmie Maddox did when asking $1000 for a horse; $300 was offered, and without a quiver he replied to the man, "You have bought a horse." In my opinion, this act of France does not comport with her actual intentions because she is in no financial position to build such a number of ships at the present time.

Influenza is epidemic, but except in those cases where pneumonia follows it is comparatively light. In the case of my Chief of Engineers, Colonel Miller, lobar pneumonia developed and he died in a few days. The death of this exceptional man is a great loss. My rating on his personal efficiency report was about the highest I have ever given.

I was surprised to hear that two of our prominent women had spoken in uncomplimentary terms of the French as a whole, claiming that my utterances and greetings in respect to them are not founded on genuine affection, but rather on diplomatic requirements. This sentiment is unfortunately due to the language barrier as well as to the natural differences of habits, customs, and methods of living; in a word, to racial characteristics. Anglo-Saxon civilization is Teutonic, and the difference between Teuton and Latin is strongly in evidence these days to the detriment of European peace.

December 22. Hatzfeldt says the relations between the French and Germans become more unsatisfactory without

any prospect of a betterment unless the policy of France be changed. He recognizes the fact that Tirard's actions are directed from Quai d'Orsay. He said: "If only France would be satisfied with the armies of occupation, as are the Americans and British, all would be well; but they are continually busied with Rhineland politics. You have no idea what a commotion the Smeets affair has created in Germany. Every one feels that the action taken by the Commission in releasing Smeets was an unwarranted interference with German courts in violation of the Rhineland Agreement and no one now knows what may not be done in the Rhineland by French influence." He was surprised to learn that I knew he had been invited to dine with the French Commissioner. He thinks the conferences with the Germans at the Praesidium should not be continued; that eighty per cent of the people consider them a subterfuge to accustom the Rhinelanders and Germany to these sectional councils under French supervision. This statement from the Reichskommissar confirms what I have been suspecting for some time. He stated that the greatest obstacle to the success of the Wirth Government is French activity in the Rhineland, far greater than the internal opposition. That I think is something of an exaggeration. Thus far I have known no instance where the French authorities have not defended their nationals in the numerous cases that arise here between them and the Germans. Many Americans who have great sentiment for France and confidence in her motives are amazed at her attitude at Washington. One cannot be placed as I am without feeling that ulterior political considerations dominate France in her attitude toward Germany, perhaps as they would us were we similarly placed. Yet this conviction is a sad one to me and unfortunately prejudicial to views which we should entertain.

This afternoon I went out to the Y hut at Weissenthurm to see the distribution of Christmas presents donated by the air detachment to five hundred of the poorest children of that town. It was a beautiful and touching act. Each

soldier donated two hundred marks with which substantial presents, as well as those usual on Christmas trees, were obtained and given to each child.

England's views on the Rhineland are a constant irritation to France, and while she is imposing a certain restraint not wholly disconnected with her own interests, her views are largely in accord with ours in respect to trade.

December 23. A prominent American of Paris is here, and quotes Weygand as follows: "The American army on the Rhine is the flower of all the armies of Europe and the reason for it rests with its chief; I know the American troops and have not seen elsewhere their equal." He also informed me that the French contemplate giving me the Grand Cordon. That will never take place, for I must continue to protest against what I consider encroachments in the domain of our holdings to the detriment of peace and an early settlement of the existent disputes.

In answer to two recent letters Mr. Herrick sets forth at length a proposal that is astonishing to me, that we should not be friendly to Germany, in spite of our peace treaty, until she shows better conduct toward France, and he suggests that our action should be discriminatory as between Germany on one side and the Entente on the other. Thus we see one of the best and kindest of men indulging in the most natural and human impulses, rather than measuring up to the inexorable demands of peace. I have answered him, contending that righteousness, respect for our obligations and a square deal, and the encouragement of peace and trade should direct our acts. I am sure that were he here he would soon recognize the importance of such a policy, even for France's welfare.

I sent General Degoutte a letter to-day protesting against the entry without authority into Cochem, in this zone, of a French officer who made a study in person of the billets there, and I also emphasized "the well-determined and fixed understanding that there would be no changes in the civil or military control and administration of the American zone." Just now, while my forces are being re-

duced, it is indeed hard for the French to resist advances into the American occupied territory.

December 24. A telegram has arrived from Ambassador Child at Rome saying the Italian Government has designated January 18th for the ceremony in honor of the Italian Unknown Soldier. H. arrived from Cologne with Juliette and the baby this afternoon. We visited them in their Pfaffendorf billet, where a Christmas tree had been prepared.

Briand's tenure of office seems to be growing less stable, and it would not be surprising to hear at an early date of his overthrow, following the well-known tendency to Cabinet changes in that country. There have been sixty-five changes of Cabinet since the Franco-Prussian War.

December 25. *Christmas.* Rather late in leaving the house for the kennels, I did not go to the office, nor have I been there the entire day. This is practically the first time in years that I have failed to go to headquarters on any day. After hunting all morning, first a drag and then a roebuck, arrived home for lunch at one. The hounds thus far run drags indifferently, and to-day demonstrated, what has been feared, that the woods around this city have too much game in them. We had up at one time several roe deer in the woods, part of which are too thick to be penetrated with horses, but which afford fine cover for these little animals.

We had in a large number of people for our Christmas tree, at which there was a small present for every one. All the Kilmarnocks were here and remained late. She is very keen on dancing and he on bridge, and provision was made for both.

December 28. We had another Christmas hunt this morning, attended by about fifty riders. The hounds ran the drag fairly well. Much mail has arrived from the States and amongst other letters is one from Wiborg. He says, "Dasha has not been so well lately, on account of a particular nervous condition which does not seem to let up, and is worrying her friends there very much." In my opinion J. should go over and be with her.

Senator McKinley, in writing in answer to my desire to have Terence enter the consular service, includes a letter to W. P. Carr, State Department, in which he said, "Just in passing I would like to say that I was told both in Berlin and in Paris that General Allen was perhaps as good a real diplomat as we had in Europe. They told me he is continually straightening out misunderstandings between the French and the Germans." Again somebody has been giving information not wholly correct.

J. has finally decided, and I think quite rightly, to sail on the transport January 6th, and go directly to Cincinnati. It is her clear duty which she recognizes, and her presence will be of the greatest benefit, more useful than doctors.

Dyckman, President of the graduates of the U.S.M.A., has asked me to serve on a committee to raise $12,000 for a memorial in the West Point Chapel to the officers who fell in the World War. There will be very little trouble in raising that sum.

A telegram from Rome says that all expenses of officers and troops sent from here to Italy will be borne by the Italian Government once the frontier is crossed. That is a most unexpected and generous offer.

A member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with wife, mother-in-law, and four children, arrived to-day from the army transport bearing letters from Secretary of War Weeks, Pershing, Julius Kahn, and Representative Knutson. As billeting accommodations are insufficient in Coblenz, it becomes necessary to limit the stay of distinguished visitors as well as others. The Halls whom we had for dinner to-night with the McCroskeys have already exhausted their allotted time. Some of the visitors to this zone presume on acquaintanceship and friendship extending over a period of many years, and it is not easy for me not to be controlled in a measure by this fact.

December 29. General Payot came down to-day in regard to the railway strike scheduled for to-morrow. Notwithstanding that employers and employees say that all

through passenger trains and military trains of every character will be kept running, Tirard, Rolin, and Payot insisted on declaring a state of siege. I fought this proposition until at last they yielded with the understanding that Rolin, head of the Transportation Committee, would call together the heads of both sides to-morrow and let them understand that under the terms of the ordinances they must compound their differences. If Payot could secure military control of these railways, it is evident that it would be as difficult to have them released as it has been to have the sanctions lifted. Rolin's attitude on this matter causes me much surprise, but it is, indeed, fortunate that martial law was not declared.

December 30. Possibly our efforts at the High Commission yesterday and to-day have been of greater good to peace and to the Rhineland than anything thus far accomplished by me. We prevented a declaration of a state of siege and likewise foiled Payot in his proclamation requisitioning all the personnel of the railway service tributary to Cologne which he had posted in Cologne and which was to be posted here also. It stated that every railway employee failing to observe its contents would be court-martialed. Our stand finally caused a letter to be written to Payot which should in future curtail such aggressive activity. Never have I seen Rolin more persistent or less imbued with a judicial sense. As to Tirard, he made two or three statements that he finally saw fit to retract or change. The English shared our views, but for some reason were disposed to use a very soft pedal. The strike goes on, but the strikers consent to run all international trains, certain express trains, and all trains the military authorities may desire. Beyond that, in my mind, it is a question between the German Government and the strikers. In connection with all this there is undoubted intent toward French consolidation on the Rhine. In spite of the vigorous manner in which I fought Tirard, he was never more gracious or clearly disposed to show it than when we met at Kilmarnock's to-night. It is truly fortunate that we can fight

about matters of this character as we do, and yet preserve such amicable relations.

December 31. The strike continues in a rather desultory way. Through Bartlett, Captain Sadler, my railway officer, received instructions from Payot to requisition the personnel of the Cologne railway system situated in the American zone. My reply was that this would be done if necessary and in accordance with the Versailles Treaty and the ordinances of the High Commission. In the mean time a telephone message from Cologne informed me that General Morland had just signed the order for this requisition. I called him on the phone and learned that he was acting under instructions from Kilmarnock. I asked him to delay his act until Kilmarnock was consulted by me, and he agreed to this. Kilmarnock was very sorry, but feared he could not act otherwise after his agreement in the Commission yesterday, though he reproached himself for having done so and wished he could now change and follow my course of requisitioning "if and when necessary." I then asked that he call Morland on the phone, but a little later it was learned that Morland had already signed. It was also learned that Weygand in Paris has proposed to requisition the entire chain of railways on the west bank of the Rhine. As long as the strikers and employers agree to run all international trains, run four daily express trains, provide sufficient food and coal trains, and run all trains required by the military authorities, I am convinced it is not a question for the High Commission or for the High Military Command, but one between the German Government and the railway employees.

For our New Year's Eve we had a large costume dinner party here to-night. The house was converted into a veritable snow forest, due to the efforts of Hutchinson and Barton; and the costumes, chiefly from the Stadt Theater, were exceptionally good. Our house guest, the Duchess of A., who is reported to have some of the finest jewels in Europe, was wearing many of them. All went to the Club about eleven o'clock, where there had been many

dinner parties and where there were several hundred dancers in costume. The New Year was welcomed in with music and a march, led by the trumpeters.

Sunday, New Year's Day, 1922. Since the strikers in this zone have admitted that they are under the control of the headquarters at Cologne, I felt the time had arrived to requisition all the railway personnel, and I therefore had Bartlett inform General Payot that it would be done at once in accordance with my orders, and not by reason of his instructions. That makes the procedure follow the Commission's ordinances, and this strike will have shown the French G.H.Q. that they cannot control the communications of the Rhineland without consultation with the three army commanders and without conforming to our ordinances. Tirard, followed by Rolin, was willing to yield all to the High Military Command and the British action was negative; hence it devolved on me to prevent the establishment of an unlawful precedent that would have given a hold on this territory not contemplated by the treaty. It has been fortunate for the spirit of the treaty that we are here. Had martial law been declared as scheduled, and had Payot got hold of the Rhine railways, it is doubtful whether they would have been returned without the same difficulty and delay that is now being experienced with the economic and military sanctions. The strike is happily nearing its end, due to negotiations with Berlin. Instead of a bonus being granted, there will be an increase of wages.

Our New Year's reception this afternoon was attended by about four hundred persons including many French and Belgians, but fewer British.

January 2. The excessive rain which is making the Rhine rise very fast, four feet in twenty-four hours, prevented hunting either this morning or this afternoon, but the hunt breakfast at the cavalry mess took place.

January 3. Although the strike was declared ended yesterday morning by the German Government and the workers have returned to their posts, word came from

Payot that owing to unrest in the Rhineland he would like to have the requisitions remain in force a while longer. He was answered that my requisitions would be immediately withdrawn; then Kilmarnock had a session with Tirard whom he acquainted with my views. As a result they both decided to have them withdrawn in their zones and thus the strike episode is ended. This action of Payot confirms my opinion that, had martial law been declared, all the railways as well as the personnel thereof in the occupied territory would have been requisitioned. Possibly this whole measure was handled, as far as Rolin, Tirard, and the High Military Command might dare, in relation to the now loudly whispered "neutralization of the Rhineland." The procedure was not compatible with the dignity of the principal agents.

January 4. We are having the first snow of any importance this winter. When I am continually apprized of the limited authority given the High Commissioners here by their respective Governments, I am all the more surprised at the free hand given me.

We had a hunt for roe deer in a heavy snowstorm this afternoon, but our hounds are not sufficiently trained for this kind of hunt to follow steadily the same animals in woods where these little deer are numerous. To-night we saw Charlie Chaplin's cinema *The Kid*. Every one seemed to enjoy immensely this mingling of comedy and pathos with less vulgarity than most of his plays contain.

J. has been making arrangements all day in ever-increasing activity for her departure to-morrow for Cincinnati.

January 5. I accompanied J. over to the Harrys that she might say good-bye to the family. Her start, accompanied by the Martins and Barton, was in my private car, attached to a troop train.

Whether or not the Cannes Conference recognizes the Soviet Government, there will be a financial conference called later to discuss the status of Germany and Russia. Briand's consent to this will probably cost him his political head, because it will be considered that he is doing so under

pressure from other states. The English press claims that France's aggressive attitude toward Germany and her persistence in land and naval armaments are isolating her from her allies and the neutral states.

With the departure from Antwerp of the *Cambrai*, carrying about 1100 soldiers, as well as J. and many others, my forces have been brought down to nearly the fixed strength of 5500. Therefore the purely military phase of my post has become far less important than my politico-diplomatic duties. When first arriving here, my command was about 75,000. Insistence on holding this entire zone with such small numbers must be the source of annoyance to my French military colleagues, for by this fact the belief that the Rhine forces should be radically diminished is much encouraged. My report on the exceptional action of the High Commission and other agencies in connection with the recent strike is ready for the Secretary of State. Rolin's action was as contrary to his usual methods as it was surprising to me. The more I consider it and Payot's also, the more I realize that, by preventing the declaration of a state of siege, we saved the Rhineland from another sanction as difficult to lift and as detrimental to peace and trade as are those already imposed. France alone had insisted on their maintenance, but in this last case Belgium seemed to be equally interested with France in establishing a state of siege.

After an early lunch I went out with Hutchinson and the Schultheis brothers to their hunting preserve about half an hour up the Mosel River, on the high ground between it and the Rhine, to try for wild hogs and red deer. We were driving in the woods for three and a half hours, but the game for the most part broke through the beaters and their little mongrel dogs. Only one pig was shot. One of the German members of the party had been a member of the occupying forces in France after the '70–'71 war and he told me the French people had been most agreeable and kind to them and that he had long maintained correspondence with French friends made at that time.

January 10. Although the snow is practically all gone, we decided to profit by General Mordacq's invitation to visit Königstein before returning to Coblenz. General M. put his automobile at our disposal as well as his aide, Raymondeau, to serve as guide. The party was the same as yesterday and included Mlle. Mordacq, the Indian Princess, Mrs. Stevens and Nancy, and those from Coblenz. It rained most of the day, yet near the summit we had to put the chains on the wheels. We ate at a little wooden tavern. The company of infantry in the village was turned out to give me a ceremonious salute, and on top of the mountain were assembled all the members of the ski school, each holding high his skis at the right shoulder salute, with hardly a square yard of snow in the country. It was raining hard during the inspection.

At last the storm-cloud has burst and Briand's resignation is followed by Poincaré's appointment as Minister-President. The former had to leave the Cannes Conference in full swing with German delegates on the spot, to proceed to Paris, where he was roughly acclaimed by the Chamber. He thereupon walked out of the hall and immediately submitted his resignation to Millerand. The Conference could then only adjourn without a solution of any of the principal questions under consideration. If Poincaré executes in accordance with his speeches and writings, all of the same tenor since I met him at Montmédy and received him at Mouzay immediately after the Armistice, we shall have a policy highly prejudicial to Germany in the first place, and as baneful to France in the long run as it will be productive of idle factories throughout the world. It may be that responsibility will temper his action and policy. The German delegates are stupefied at this turn of events, but I suspect some of them have foreseen such a happening.

January 13. General Gouraud, Governor-General of Syria, arrived here this morning. With other Frenchmen of the military spirit and especially those of the Rhineland, he is much pleased with the selection of Poincaré. He

thinks that under any and all circumstances Germany must pay what she has promised; that devastated France is in strong contrast to what he saw in Düsseldorf; that the French, though victors, are in a worse state than the conquered; that the Armistice was the greatest mistake, for had it not occurred the capture of a million men would have taken place shortly; and that other sanctions must be imposed if necessary. He recognized that the war is being continued under another form and suggests that active military steps might be required by the Allies. I asked him what state would follow France in such a venture. He then saw the drift of his argument and declared that, should the Allies and Associated Powers make a united demand, Germany would find the money. The Cannes Conference and the defeat of the Briand Cabinet show that France is bent on having her pound of flesh. In fact she is now largely dictating the policy to the European nations in their relations to Germany. There is probably no doubt that the United States is for the most part in sympathy with what England is striving for at these conferences — peace and trade.

January 14. I had a dinner party to-night for the Rolin family followed by films by Charlie Chaplin as "The Janitor," return of the American Unknown, and the Dempsey-Carpentier fight. The last is a remarkable production and leaves the impression of having witnessed the real fight.

The break at Cannes has developed a wider cleavage between the British and French than usual. The French are piqued over England's attitude and are now asking that their Government also guarantee England in case of an unprovoked attack by Germany. They say that the reparations question should be settled before any trade arrangements are made. Poincaré remains silent concerning the approaching financial conference and Millerand failed to receive Lloyd George on his return to Paris from Cannes.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ITALIAN UNKNOWN

Through Switzerland in a driving snowstorm — We arrive in Rome — An audience with the King — Ceremonies for the Italian Unknown — The Queen tells of her labors for the poor — Ambassador Richard Washburn Child — Sight-seeing in Rome — We visit Monte Carlo and Nice — To Cannes to see Ambassador Harvey — "The sunny place for shady people" — A brilliant London *Times* correspondent — Busy days in Paris — Foch and Poincaré — We again prevent militarization of Rhine railways — Duck-shooting — France's progress demands that she have friends — American forces on the Rhine are drastically reduced — Late hours in Paris — American troops are sad at leaving Rhineland — Stag-hunting at Gevrolles — A land of brook laundries and empty cradles — Going to the mat with Foch regarding barracks — Colonel Repington's diary — At the palace of the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg.

January 16, 1922. We are on our way to Rome, to aid in the ceremonies for the Italian Unknown Soldier. Conducted through Switzerland by officials of that country, we left in a driving snowstorm for Lucerne and the St. Gotthard Tunnel. The Basel station on the German side is a tremendous terminal built by the Germans on Swiss soil just before the outbreak of the war, and should have been highly suggestive of German intentions. Until we got through the tunnel there was stormy winter everywhere, but descending on the Italian side we soon left the snow and came into the sunshine.

At the Italian frontier town of Chiasso on Lake Lugano, which is both Swiss and Italian, we were met by General de Luca and his aide, delegated to accompany me throughout. General de Luca handed me a letter of welcome from the Italian Minister of War. On our arrival at Milan the commanding general of the corps, with a mixed detachment of troops, his staff and his divisional and brigade commanders, greeted us. We went into the royal section of the station, and listened to a speech of welcome and appeciation delivered in French.

January 17. The reception at the station in Rome was truly remarkable. We were welcomed by the Minister of

War, General Diaz, now Duke of Victory, various corps and division commanders, troops, and large crowds of Americans and Italians. The Mayor made a formal address of welcome, to which I replied in French. I still think it unfortunate that we did not bring down a battalion instead of a company. The city was gayly decorated, and a big American flag was hanging over the entrance to this hotel, the Grand. We visited the Secretary of War, Chief of Staff, and General Diaz, who is at the head of the War Army Council.

We then went to the Embassy. The new Ambassador, Richard Washburn Child, was publicity agent in Harding's campaign. He is barely forty years old, handsome, and of very pleasing address. We lunched at the Palace Antiqui-Matti with the Wurtses.

On my return to the hotel, General de Luca brought decorations from the Italian Government for each officer in my party. Mine was the Grand Cordon (red and white sash) of the Order of the Crown. At 3.30 I was taken to the Quirinal and had an audience of more than half an hour with the King, who talks well, but in a rather nervous manner. He is fifty-three years old and is quite gray. His legs are so short that when sitting on a sofa his feet barely touch the carpet, and when his back is against the sofa his feet are well off the ground. He said laughingly that, as I was not a diplomat nor a journalist, he would speak freely with me. He spoke of Italy's increasing population and its present numbers of forty million; of the fact that New York City has a larger Italian population than Rome; and at length of Italy in the war. In one of the eleven battles of the Isonzo, the Italians lost in four days fifty-three generals and colonels and 180,000 men. Finally I made a move to go in contravention of the well-established custom of waiting a signal from the sovereign. We were then taken to the Torino Brigade barracks in accordance with our programme where our men had been looked after with the greatest possible consideration under the most hygienic conditions.

January 18. This morning we went to the "Altar of the Fatherland," a superb memorial begun in 1887, where the Italian Unknown reposes. This building is a remarkably fine and imposing white structure, perhaps the finest of this kind in existence and will be completed when funds are available. With the lira at twenty-three to the dollar there is no immediate chance that Italy's financial prosperity will justify it. For this morning's solemn ceremony it would be difficult to find a better setting. On arrival at the base of the Altar we were met by General Diaz, the Minister of War, the Chief of Staff, and many distinguished officials of the Government. We proceeded up the long broad stairway to the burial spot, separating there, Italian officials going to the left, the rest of us going to the right. Naturally the King, Victor Emanuel III, with mounted escort and in brilliant uniform, was the last to arrive. During a wait for certain troops to come up, the King, the Minister-President Bonomi, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marquis della Torretta, both of whom I met during the Supreme Council August meeting in Paris, came over and chatted at length with our Ambassador and myself. When our detachment arrived, it marched up the broad steps in fine cadence, preceded by a huge wreath carried by two of our men, halted on the first landing below us with precision, and saluted the King as the wreath was being placed. Mr. Child made a very fine address, whereupon I was requested "to perform the ceremony of our homage."

After having saluted the King, then Bonomi, then General Diaz, and finally for several seconds the tomb of the Unknown, I said in part:

Hero of Italy! Progeny of warriors! Whether from the Alpine Highlands or the Lowlands of the Po, your exploits redound to the welfare of righteous civilization on a parity with those of the valiant defenders of the Marne, of Flanders, and of the Meuse.

I know you well; your brothers fought in every large unit of the forces from beyond the seas under the folds of the Stars and Stripes. In direct command of some of them on the battle-fields of France I witnessed unsurpassed valor by these sons of Italy

PRESENTATION OF CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR, ROME, 1922
General Diaz, the Minister of War, the King, Ambassador Child, Minister President Bonomi, General Allen

GENERAL DIAZ AND GENERAL ALLEN REVIEWING THE ESCORT OF HONOR, ROME, 1922

at grips with the most determined foe. In your glorified state, your love of mankind is demanding genuine world peace in unison with the expressed desire of sovereign Italy. We people of far-away America, with abiding love for your country, shall cherish your memory for all time; and in the sacred devotions to our own sons who fell for the same causes that inspired you, we shall not fail to enshrine you in true gratitude and in loving thought.

When it came to the Congressional citation, Sumner stepped forward and read it, and I laid the medal on the base just below the big golden cross, for there is no real outward sign of the tomb. Before leaving, the military attachés were all brought up and presented to me. I find difficulty in having our Ambassador given his just precedence over me, and he is so modest that the difficulty is made greater.

At eight o'clock we started for the Hotel Excelsior, where General Diaz gave a dinner in honor of our mission, and I was enabled to talk at length with M. Bonomi, as well as the Minister of War. The latter laughingly remarked that he was a lawyer, and that Bonomi had been a professor of science, and from that I might form some idea of the character of the Cabinet. After dinner all of us went toward the dance hall where an American orchestra was playing dance music. Immediately all the dancers stopped and began to applaud, which certainly I did not consider was intended for me. They insisted that it was, possibly for my four plaques, two on each side. To relieve the situation I advanced, took the best-looking dancer near by, and started off.

January 19. We drove to the Quirinal this morning and found the American detachment drawn up in the court, along with various elements of the different branches of Italian soldiers. The contrast between the grenadiers of the guard and the average Italian soldier is as great as was that between the upper and lower strata of society in Russia during the Romanoff dynasty. These grenadiers and the lancers, too, are superb specimens, selected for

their great size and manly beauty. They serve to make the King look even shorter than he is. His Majesty with his highest officials, the Queen, and the Crown Prince were downstairs inside the palace, but all walked out into the court where about a dozen salon chairs were placed on a large red rug. Here the King gave me the war cross, a bronze medal in the form of a Geneva cross, suspended from a blue and white ribbon. Later I asked General Diaz to pin it on. Then our troops marched up in broad front and halted about ten paces from where we were. As their names were called, twenty-three of our war service men were handed this same war medal by the King. In spite of the slowness of the Italian music, to which our men were unaccustomed, their marching compared very favorably with the best Italians in the ceremony, and as nearly every one came up for the medal, the King exclaimed in his very good English, "What a beautiful man!"

This ceremony was followed by lunch in the palace. Mr. Child sat on the Queen's left, the Crown Prince on her right; Bonomi sat on the King's right, I on his left. The King talked nearly the whole time, rather confidentially, but simply as man to man. He told me of the great difficulties during the war in placating the civil and military elements; and of his political difficulties, how he did not mingle too much in matters of party concern. He said that the party in power was supreme; that his chief rôle at all times was in settling questions, somewhat in the nature of an arbiter, as they arose daily. I replied that King George also left the administration of his country largely to his Prime Minister. He replied that King George did nearly nothing in the matter of direct participation in governmental matters, far less than he. He lives in a villa with a large garden a few miles from the Quirinal and comes in daily for his official duties. Without being brilliant or bold, I should class him as an intelligent, conscientious man, and an official of exceptionally good judgment. I should also say that, in spite of a certain external appearance of nervousness, he has much poise.

Della Torretta was on my left. With all his gentility and amiability I question whether he possesses qualifications sufficiently positive for a Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the present time the Genoa Conference, for which Italy has just sent out invitations, is much on his mind. During the lunch when an especially good dish was brought on, I remarked that the Italians ate too well. The King replied at once: "We do not eat such dishes. We live very plainly. We give them to foreigners."

After lunch a few of us were shown into the special rooms where the King opened the door leading to a balcony, whence he pointed out many interesting objects in the city, including the Garibaldi Monument, the Altar of the Fatherland, and St. Peter's. Coming back into the room, I had a conversation with the Queen, who is very tall and dark, with a very attractive face almost Madonna-like. She does not speak English. She told me of her daily life at the hospitals, her work among the poor, especially the children at and near the palace; of her twenty-year-old daughter who is exceptionally good with the shotgun; of the supplies she received from America; and of her old father whom I knew in Russia and Paris; of how Montenegro had been sold out to the Serbians, and how she was still hoping that that country with its worthy and ancient mountain people and government might be saved. She said those people are just as meritorious as they are poor; that she was one of twelve children, and that her *dot* was not five francs. This woman is a very fine character who works continually to help alleviate Italian suffering. She told me of the great numbers of Russian refugees in Rome, many of whom appealed to her by reason of her Slavic origin and her five years' schooling at Smolny Institute at St. Petersburg, but that with so much need all around her she could do little for them. Moreover, she said that if a needy Russian had three hundred francs, he would at once give a party to his friends and spend most of it.

To the dinner given by the Ambassador and Mrs. Child in their new apartment, the property of the Duchess of

Sermoneta, next to whom I sat. There were only twenty-four covers. The apartment of the Ambassador is a superb abode and shows taste in harmony with its owner, Princess Sermoneta. She presented an astonishingly beautiful picture as she entered the salon to-night.

January 20. While at the Capitol a telegram was received from Jones, Military Attaché in Berne, saying that the Swiss Government did not want our troops to return via Switzerland, and he recommended they be routed around that country. I sent Grew a telegram telling how inconvenient that would be and gave assurance of all proper guaranties that would comport with Switzerland's well-known policy of the strictest neutrality. This act recalls the King's question at lunch: "Did the Swiss give you any trouble about coming through?" Then he added, "They are very particular about that."

On returning to the hotel there was a report that the Pope, who is suffering from pneumonia, had died in the afternoon, but it has not been confirmed. We went about 8.30 to our last official entertainment, Donnelly's dinner at the Palace Hotel. The Pope remains alive, but is expected to die during the night. This information was given during the meal. The Prefect said that the Pope's demise could have no considerable political bearing on Italian affairs at this moment.

Mr. Child in a very earnest manner after dinner made this remark to me, after apologizing for speaking in such a personal way: "You have made a most profound impression here with the King, with the Queen, with the Minister, President, and Secretary of State, General Diaz, with everybody." My reply was that I was not entitled to such flattery, but it is hoped we have helped him in improving the relations between the two countries on this occasion in accordance with the desires of the State Department. After dinner we went to a little hotel, "Élysée," to see Mrs. Peirce, with whom we went to a very small theater where stranded Russians are trying to earn a living.

January 21. Mr. Child sent to me at the station his

book, "The Velvet Black," with the following inscription, "With regret that another engagement prevents my saying good-bye to you at the station, with deep appreciation for one who plays so well 'our game,' with memories of pleasant days, and with the hope that this may help to beguile your journey, I am, my dear General Allen, always faithfully, Richard Washburn Child."

January 22. We decided to stop off at Monte Carlo, where we are now installed in the Grand Hotel, connected by a subway with the Casino near by. I have never been here before. Pershing and Liggett wanted me to come down while commanding the 8th Corps at Montigny-sur-Aube, but I was satisfied to remain at my post and let the divisional and brigade commanders profit by the visit. The place is full of people of all shades of social standing, but strange to say I have thus far not seen a single familiar face. We took a walk about the city and its beautiful gardens, visited the Casino tables downstairs, and took tea at the Café de Paris where the cabaret feature is in full swing. Between the Casino and the Café, the latter is far better for civilization. I am not familiar with the most fashionable period of the winter season here, but the appearance of the people now here is not very sympathetic nor even agreeable.

The Pope died at 6 P.M. It was fortunate for us that he lived through our programme at Rome. Not only Italy, but the world will participate in the formal funeral ceremonies.

We dined at the Hôtel de Paris, extremely dear, even with the franc at eight cents. The table d'hôte cost forty francs; ordinary wine, Barsac, seventeen francs; mineral water, four francs, and the tip ten. This plain dinner for two of us was therefore one hundred and ten francs. The hotel is, however, superior in its luxurious appointments, in appearance and in service, and I am very glad to see this largely frequented playground. After dining, we went over to the Casino where Sumner again dropped a few francs.

January 23. After lunch we started for Nice, where we

were to stop for a few hours, then go on to Pau, but here we learned definitely that it would be necessary to make four changes before reaching our destination, and I sent Harry La Montagne at Villa Regina my sincere regrets. Owing to our changed plan our tickets had to be straightened out, and we have decided to stop at the Hôtel Nigresco instead of the Ruhl. This is an enormous, superior hotel, but hardly as luxurious as the one we have just left at Monte Carlo, and I might add hardly as expensive. A big wooden floor is laid over the carpet in the lounge hall, and on it dancing goes rather furiously at tea-time and at an even faster clip after dinner. This hotel and Nice itself resemble and recall Atlantic City. The drive over was surpassingly beautiful. The drought and the cacti recall certain rough spots in Arizona and Mexico. On arrival here we found some familiar faces and many Americans. We went over for a short time to the Casino where *boule* and *baccarat* seem to take precedence over *roulette*.

January 24. The weather is an ever-present subject of conversation, especially when it is as bad as it now is. Every one tells you this is not Nice weather. Mrs. Molina drove us over to Cannes in her car. We went to the leading hotel there and got a guide to Villa Kazbek, where the Harveys are visiting Princess Christopher, formerly Mrs. Leeds. As Mr. H. said he had an order to keep me for lunch, Mrs. M. returned with her car. Mr. H. is fully recovered from his automobile accident.

At the Villa were the son, William Leeds, with his bride, great-granddaughter of old Constantine Alexandrovitch. He is nineteen and she is eighteen. The Princess Christopher, now called Anastasia, is about forty. Her husband is at present in Greece. It was very interesting to hear detailed information of the various members of the Romanoff family whom I knew in Russia and most of whom have since perished in the Revolution. The Princess's fine car was put at our disposition for return to Nice after lunch. As it was open and our rate of speed considerable, the raw wind and rain made the climate appear at its worst. The

beauty of the Riviera with the snowclad mountains looking down on the sea is nevertheless unquestioned.

The Taylors gave us tea in the hotel this afternoon and "Lord" Wellesley gave us a dinner at the Ruhl Hotel. The party was composed chiefly of Americans. Before the dinner was finished they told me about the prices paid for their apartments in the United States, and in Paris, where they had traveled and under what conditions, how many servants they had, what they paid for them, the superiority or inferiority of their cooks, and why I should visit Palm Beach and Pasadena. I presume that, as prosperous citizens of a new country, we are like children with new toys about which we want to tell everybody.

January 25. Our departure from the Riviera at two o'clock was in rainy weather, thus proving that the "sunny place for shady people" is at times partly at least a misnomer. Before we left, Miss Keyser, a war telephone girl, whom I had known in France, brought me a highly perfected cigarette lighter that seems really to work, and we kept her for lunch. She probably does not know that I smoke only two cigarettes per day. On the train were the Harveys and Mr. Steed of the London *Times*. The H.'s asked us to dine with them and our little dinner party was very agreeable. Afterwards Mr. H. invited Steed into his compartment, and the man talked a streak concerning the Washington Conference, but always brilliantly. Steed's mind is as quick as his knowledge of world politics is wide.

January 26. We arrived in Paris about 9 A.M. The Harveys went to the Crillon after a bad night in the *salon-lit* coaches. I went directly to see our reparations people, especially Boyden. He told me his Commission is practically unanimous in the conviction that too much is being demanded of Germany; that it could not change the amount, however, but could regulate the times of payment; and that he was seriously thinking of proposing 50 billion instead of 132.

Mr. Herrick phoned for me to come to the Embassy. My tardy arrival there coincided with his going out, but

he asked me for lunch at his house with the Harveys. Mrs. Potter was there and the conversation was quite amusing. Harvey did not fail to inject his laconic cynicism into it, while Mrs. H. for the most part played the silent partner. After lunch it was truly amusing to Harvey and me to hear Herrick trying to explain France's conduct at the Washington Conference. He claimed that France's intention was all right, but that her case was unfortunately presented. Mr. H. and I dared not even look at each other. It was difficult to keep from smiling. It was an earnest advocate pleading a poor case.

January 27. I put on my uniform and went over to call on Marshal Foch by appointment at eleven o'clock. He was as agreeable as ever. It was surprising that he remembered so many places in the United States. He spoke of having visited my bungalow in San Antonio at Camp Travis, and said he would have sent me a telegram from there had he not been so rushed. He inquired about J., about matters on the Rhine, and as soon as Weygand came he launched out on Franco-German relations. I brought up the subject of tanks for which the French Government had asked a yearly rental of 9600 francs each. I plainly related to Foch how he had approved my request for these machines while he was in Coblenz, and that I had absolutely no money with which to pay the rents. The matter had never reached him nor Weygand, who promised to get me the tanks. The Marshal invited me for an informal dinner to-day or lunch to-morrow.

January 28. Mr. Herrick is quite worried over Mr. Harvey's caustic attitude toward Grosclaude, a well-known French writer. In discussing Franco-American relations with Herrick, in which both of us recognize the present *impasse*, he asked me what he could do to help improve the situation. My reply was that I would think it over and let him hear from me, adding, however, that it would not be desirable for us as friends of France to fail to tell her she has made a tactical error in Washington. He had just returned from the service for the Pope in Notre

Dame and was somewhat preoccupied with the mass of papers on his desk. I therefore did not broach several subjects that were on my mind. He showed me a carefully studied pen-picture of Poincaré he had prepared for the State Department, concerning which he asked my views. He seemed to be quite pleased that I agreed with him, but less so when I stated that Poincaré could with great difficulty concur with the views of the rest of the world in a peaceful policy toward Germany; and that until the French Parliament was dissolved, probably no Government in France could do so. We went for lunch with Marshal and Madame Foch. Only the Weygands were there. The food was excellent, but the cordiality of our reception was far more agreeable. The conversation developed much concerning his American visit, and Foch's description of the Grand Cañon was masterful. After lunch he said, "Venez! Verrons l'Amérique!" referring to a room where he has his American trophies, presentation swords, helmets, bowls, cups, keys of cities, an Indian war bonnet, silver boxes—all of them American. Some of these objects are in solid gold and are very precious. I told Madame la Maréchale that as long as there is a demand for such objects and for gold, she need not go hungry. She is a bright and capable woman who follows politics indifferently.

From Marshal Foch we went to see Mrs. Harjes who was lunching at the Ritz, and were upbraided for not letting her know we were in the city. At 3.45 I went to call on Minister-President Poincaré at Quai d'Orsay and found a very agreeable reception. I announced my coming as due simply to a desire to pay him my respects and congratulations. As he was giving his hand for the congratulations he said that the new position did not merit such and diminished his grip. He spoke of conditions on the Rhine and of my services there; of the present tension between the United States and France due in a large measure, as he admitted, to the fact that France wanted to bargain, *marchander*, in Washington instead of asking frankly and openly for what she deemed necessary; of my visit to

Rome, where I found Italians somewhat saddened by the thought that the French and English had slighted them.

"Yes," said he, "each nation thinks its trials severer than those of any other."

I commended his representatives, Tirard and Degoutte, and told him that D. was not only a good soldier, but that he knew well how to handle each of the commanding generals of forces on the Rhine.

January 30. Back in Coblenz I learn that there is a strike imminent in parts of the Rhineland, especially in the Aix-la-Chapelle region, which the Commission has been discussing all day. At 6.30 it had reached an *impasse*, and the Commission has taken a recess to await my presence. General Payot, under the guise of Degoutte's name, again seeks military control of the railways of the Rhineland, and for some reason finds a champion in Rolin, who does not seem to realize P.'s real intent. An order of P. practically requisitioning all personnel had already been prepared by the Commission, and it was also a question of drawing up a new ordinance that would settle such matters for all time between the military authorities and the High Commission. After an hour and a half of wrangling I found myself continually fighting for the High Commission, a purely civil body, in behalf of the authority of that body, against military encroachments. It is truly an anomaly that a military man should have to defend the Commission, which is declared the supreme authority of the Allies and Associated Powers of the occupied territory, against itself as well as against encroachments of the High Military Command on the Rhine. This was successfully done, or at any rate a new ordinance was agreed upon and sent to Degoutte for remarks, and likewise the order for a general requisition was changed so as to permit Payot to make the requisition only where strike troubles are imminent. Again we have prevented the militarization of the railway lines of the Rhineland.

January 31. About the most flattering letter I have ever received came to-day from General William H. Carter.

As he and I have fought over many questions relating to military matters, especially the cavalry, over a long period of years, it was a great surprise. Just why people should seem unusually pleased with what I have done in Europe is continually a surprise, and must be due to a certain American vanity in seeing one of its own figures rather conspicuously amongst foreigners.

February 3. The railway strikes in Germany have assumed a very serious air, and President Ebert has made an urgent plea that the Commission permit his decree relative to strikers to be published in the occupied territory. In spite of Tirard's objection, it was permitted. We thus run counter to the wishes of the High Military Command, strongly urged by Payot, who wants to control wholly all systems of communication in the Rhineland. I fear Kilmarnock may not stand his ground, in which event the burden of fighting the militarization of these communications will fall on me.

February 5. My diary for the calendar year 1921 has just been received from the binder in two volumes. In this form its contents will be more accessible. A letter from Mr. Greenslet, of Houghton Mifflin Company, says he will arrive in London soon and that it would be well for him to have a conference with me regarding the book his company is scheduled to publish, and I have accordingly invited him over to the Rhine. I have begun a collection of letters written and received by me during the past few years with a view to utilizing some of the more important ones.

February 7. Early this morning we went to St. Goar by automobile and embarked in Kingston's launch for a duck shoot. There were seven gunners, Stone, Ware, Dolan, Kingston, Dunn, Hutchinson, and myself. We started upstream, going as far as Bingen, and killed seventy-four ducks, most of them mallards. Attached to our launch was a rowboat which is used for retrieving the ducks. Sometimes, however, they were brought in from the stream directly from the launch by a net scoop. While the weather

was cold and somewhat disagreeable on the water, the sport was exceptionally fine — if killing birds can be called sport.

February 9. Rolin assures me he had never contemplated or desired having martial law put into effect in the Rhineland, and had always opposed it. Davis and Stone were as much amazed at this as I was, and positively I am at a loss to reconcile his words now with his words and acts in the discussions connected with the two strikes in the past six weeks.

Tirard came back from Paris to-day and asked for a session of the Commission. He attempted his steam-roller process by trying to have my reservation relative to the manner of posting the proclamation expunged from the record. He also declared that the Supreme Council had given the Rhineland High Commission jurisdiction over the American zone.

In a letter, Marshal Foch recognizes my contention that Ehrenbreitstein should not be destroyed, but preserved as a famous monument of the Rhine. In the past my contention to have it preserved was combated by the Military High Command and the Board of Control. I was determined that it should not be destroyed as long as my authority continued in this zone. It has value only as an historic monument.

February 10. When the Commission meeting was opened this morning, its President declared that the session was specially to give me a chance to make answer to a matter that had been discussed yesterday. That there might be no doubt or discussion in the future on the subject under consideration, I forcefully reminded him and the Commission that my Government had never recognized any such jurisdiction over the zone any more than it did the authority of the High Military Command over the American forces; that Tirard had admitted to me in the past that this position was sound; that the proposed reservation by Stone was simply that I might make a decision; and that if he chooses to consult his Government with respect to any

part of the reservation, I was quite agreeable to it. In spite of the evident desire to make an issue of this matter, Tirard preferred not to do so lest it show a cleavage between the Associated Power and the Entente. I left no doubt that my post here is as a representative of the American Government, of the State Department as well as the War Department, and that my duties under the former take precedence. When the discussion was all over, Tirard retained me to talk over the political situation in which France finds herself; the present *impasse* between her and the United States; what was promised her by Lloyd George and President Wilson; and by inference what France should now do on the Rhine, in view of this failure. I told him that France seems to be almost alone; that in twenty years she will have just half the population of Germany; that she could not expect to keep a sword pointed at Germany's breast perpetually; and that while sympathizing with her I felt that her progress demanded that she have friends. As usual he talked like a whirlwind, ending by asking me to read very carefully Lloyd George's last speech in the House of Commons which he would send me. He notes some thoughts therein that seem to approve France's Rhineland policy. My final words were that the past should interest us less than the present critical situation of Europe. As usual we parted very amicably.

It has developed that the Cannes Conference completely ignored the recommendations of the army cost conference and likewise the question of the payment of the actual costs of our forces. We are therefore left in a position wherein all the assets of the common debtor have been seized by the other creditors. They think that we must get our expenses by some direct dealing with Germany or else they do not care whether or not we get anything. As far as our costs are concerned, we are now just where we were before the army cost conference sat, and are receiving as payment for our forces only what we requisition from Germany.

Notwithstanding my talk with Foch and Weygand about

tanks, the final reply from Degoutte was that they would be loaned during the training season for three months, which is not at all in accord with the agreement.

February 12. Tirard took offense because of complaint against the delay of the secretariat of the Commission in sending out the strike decision of that body, and said that in the future he would not sign papers until formally approved by the Commission, usually a week later. That was a fruitless act, and fortunately Rolin and Kilmarnock were moved to take action in the form of a letter which the three of us signed. This may anger Tirard, but should put a check on his tendency to use such domineering methods. Even at the last minute Kilmarnock was ready to give way and let the matter go by default. However, he brought the English version to my house at tea-time for my signature. He is going to Berlin to talk over the Smeets case with Rathenau, who may be able to suggest some way out of the present difficulty. In telling Rolin that my opinion with regard to the Smeets matter remained unchanged, I also informed him that it would not be fought any longer by me. Possibly the State Department may think I have already gone too far as it may do with respect to my signing that paper to-day. The duties of a *High Observer* are limited, except when the welfare of his own zone is affected.

February 17. A surprise cablegram in code directs the reduction of the American forces by 203 officers and 3000 men, thus leaving here practically only the 8th Regiment of infantry reinforced by one company of engineers and one battery of artillery. The brigade headquarters are sent home, and also fifty-five officers of my headquarters, the entire air service, the cavalry, the signal corps, and the units of the motor transport and medical service. This is certainly carrying out our preaching in a drastically practical way. This I, too, advocated at the army cost conference, but when consenting to a reduction of my forces the others simply increased theirs by a corresponding amount. Even the British, who wanted a reduction,

said: "If the others are going to have such forces, then we want our share and shall fix our numbers at 15,000." But they have not increased their forces. I cannot help feeling, however, that our example must have some influence. It now remains to be seen what attitude or change, if any, will be made by the State Department in our representation on the Commission. Without a vote there and without an independent area, our voice would be indeed feeble, and we should not continue here. To have left me here with this diminished force is simply indicative that the State Department desires my services to be continued. Without any instructions from that Department I am not sure whether it is desired that our efforts to curtail French encroachments in our zone continue.

February 18. We are at the Ritz in Paris. Boyden says France now knows that Germany cannot pay the scheduled amounts, but that the French delegation does not say so publicly. Perhaps a clean-cut statement, with a unanimous recommendation cutting down the total reparations, would have a proper influence on world opinion and in consequence on the Supreme Council.

This reduction of my forces without any intimation as to policy for the American zone will bring me shortly face to face with the French, who will want to take over part of it. The worst of it is that perhaps I must accede through necessity due to the cutting down of forces.

To the Embassy, where Mr. Herrick showed his usual cordial manner. I narrated to him at length our situation on the Rhine under the reduction, the increasingly aggressive manner of the French toward the permanent holding of the Rhineland, my policy up to the present time, my doubt as to whether our country had any convictions as to what we should do there, and my definite conviction that Europe would never enjoy a real peace so long as France holds the Rhineland. He wanted to know whether he should make any recommendations to the State Department, to which naturally I replied in the negative. I have no intention of directly asking for instructions. Were I

given a vote on the Commission, that would perhaps compensate for the reduction just ordered.

We lunched at Prunier's which was literally jammed. This large place has grown in recent years from a little one-stall oyster-house. We dined with the Wittfelds and Charley Munns at Ciro's; then went to a Parisian *revue*, and then to a so-called club, "So Different," where there were a number of celebrities, including the Grand Duchess Anastasia, daughter of old Michel and mother of the Crown Princess of Germany and of the Queen of Denmark. She is a big, angular woman, obsessed with dancing. We remained there until two o'clock, the first time I have been up this late since the end of the war.

Degoutte came to my room by appointment. He came straight from Marshal Foch. We arrived at conclusions that have relieved the situation in my mind very much. Undoubtedly the Marshal's previous efforts to secure a foothold in Coblenz, first with Pershing and then with me, are not forgotten. I informed him that, should he not insist on having some part of the American zone or some troops therein, it would be tantamount to a recognition that the total forces of occupation in the Rhineland are in excess; that perhaps the French would prefer that all the American forces leave the Rhine as many Americans do; that I had no definite instructions from my Government and would not ask any; but that it was certain that should any of the American zone be yielded it would be recognized in America as due to French pressure. He assured me that it was absolutely essential that the American forces remain, and he was polite enough to say that my stay was equally important. He would like to put some small forces in the zone north of the Mosel. It was finally agreed that, if I permitted such, the limits of my zone would not be impaired; that the troops would be under my command; and that the city of Coblenz would be "off limits" for them. That conclusion relieves the *impasse* into which the last reduction has placed me.

February 22. We arrived back at Coblenz yesterday,

had lunch at home, and then began a series of conferences bearing on the return of the troops to the United States. The officer personnel is the one delicate problem, because no one wants to return. Although conscious that they have had advantages in remaining over this long, the Harrys are somewhat shocked at finding they must leave.

We had an interesting hunt this morning — first a drag, then a dropped fox, and finally a roebuck — in which many pink coats participated.

Kilmarnock came to tell me the results of his Berlin visit, chiefly in order to see Rathenau. He informed me that R. is very anxious to have me made a full member of the High Commission. I told K. that any action R. might take would probably defeat the ends he had in view.

February 24. In a long letter to Pershing I endeavored to bring him abreast of certain Rhineland matters. The reduced forces will make a good guard for the flag, and will permit me to maintain supervision of the Kreise. Hatzfeldt came in to call and expressed great satisfaction in learning that we shall continue to hold our entire area.

For the first time I took up with Andy the advisability of giving up flying, basing my remarks largely upon the fact that he has a family and that the money consideration should not be rated too highly.

In a letter from Barton in Washington, he quotes General Pershing as saying, "I have two or three big jobs I would like to have General Allen do for me, but on account of his success on the Rhine it has been decided to leave him there."

The Rousselliers gave a *bal poudré* to-night. This was the very first occasion on which I have appeared here in evening dress, and it was a surprise not only to the foreigners, but also to my own people.

February 26. This was a wonderfully fine morning for our hunt. All the pink coats were in evidence. M. du Souzy has invited me down to Gevrolles for a hunt and I shall profit by it to take Juliette there before her departure for the States.

March 1. Degoutte very skillfully presented his request for the artillery barracks in Lützel. He thought that my political reasons might be safeguarded by considering the Mosel River as a distinct separating line. My answer was that under the present circumstances we could not permit French troops to occupy Lützel, which, if not *de jure*, is certainly *de facto* a part of Coblenz. I also requested that no colored troops be sent into this zone. The introduction of French troops here may cause friction and complications, but I hardly feel justified in excluding them entirely.

The list of officers who are to return home has been made out and will be published soon in order to relieve the minds of many who want to know the decision.

As soon as our reduction was made known here the French Section of the Commission began to agitate the question of billeting in Coblenz. France, by reason of her greater losses and greater share in the reparations, has succeeded in securing the presidency or chairmanship of nearly every commission that has been organized in behalf of European restoration. It is a source of dissatisfaction to them that I shall continue to maintain hold of the billeting question in Coblenz.

Kilmarnock gave a farewell lunch to General Morland who gives up his Cologne post and takes command of Aldershot. Both K. and Morland are so uncomfortable when speaking that the absence of remarks at lunch was probably desirable.

March 6. The 8th Infantry gave a large dinner at the Club for the departing 5th Infantry. There was much merriment, but a tinge of sadness on the part of those who are leaving. The two colonels, Bates and Knight, asked me to make a little talk toward the end of the dinner, which was to the effect that the dissolution of this brigade is the divorce of two of the best regiments our country has ever had; that the brigade is probably on as high a plane as the highest; that the first post I joined on graduation at Fort Keogh, Montana, was the garrison of the 5th, whose fine standards here must be maintained in the United

States; and that "welcome comes with smiles while farewell goes out with sighs" is again brought home to us army people.

March 7. Pershing was opposed to the reduction of the A.F. in G., but his advice did not prevail. Harbord writes that the War Department wanted me as Superintendent of West Point, but my remaining active service was considered too short to authorize the detail. He thinks that all troops will be ordered home shortly and suggests the Boston corps area for me in succession to Edwards. Possibly that might be a very good move for me, though all in all I should prefer continuing on the High Commission. Kuhlenthal, who has just come back from Berlin, says frankly that the German Government wants to make a formal request that American troops remain on the Rhine, and it would also like to know whether this request should be made direct to Washington or through me.

March 8. With the Harrys, including the baby and his nurse, we left by automobile this morning in wind and rain for Gevrolles. It seems to be understood that on the birth or christening of the baby I should have given its maternal grandmother some sort of souvenir, and, as it was only to-day that this duty was learned, I bought a frame in which she might put her grandchild's picture.

Nancy has gone forward in a marked manner since the war. The shops are now very attractive and full as compared with their former lean appearance. We dined very well at the *table d'hôte* dinner at this hotel at a table adjoining that of the brother of the King of Siam. It was noted on the way up the Mosel that much of the evidences of war have disappeared except the wreckage of houses in towns like Pagny. The barbed wire has all been carried away, the trenches filled, and the traces of the aerial bombardments that were specially noticeable in Nancy have disappeared.

March 9. We left Nancy this morning at 8.45 and reached Chaumont at eleven. Thus far our car had been running faultlessly to all appearances, but at Briçon, about

twenty-four kilometres from Gevrolles, the generator or transmission, as we supposed, went wrong and we were left helpless on the road. It was just a few minutes before noon, and as the telephone officials insisted on profiting by their privilege of no duty between twelve and two, we continued helpless. We were therefore compelled to find midday food in this little village. At 3 P.M. Guy du Souzy appeared with an automobile and brought us on here to Château Gevrolles. A motor truck went later to bring our Cadillac in. There was evidently a big lunch arranged for us, as we found the Antoines du Souzy, Beauregards, Monsieur X and Marquis de la Brossia there. Following their custom, the reception given Juliette was not very demonstrative.

The husbands of the three Alemagny sisters and Guy du Souzy constitute the chief hunters, and, with M. Martin, the chief supporters of the du Souzy hunt. Thus far twenty stags have been taken this winter. The master of the hounds seems to be better satisfied with his pack this year than last.

Madame du Souzy continues very handsome, though some consider Madame Beauregard equally good-looking. A three and a half year old child of Guy du Souzy is abnormally gifted with memory and can repeat readily six or eight fables such as *Maître Corbeau*.

March 10. Du Souzy tells me that he has taken during his entire hunting experience 866 stags with his hounds; thus far this winter only three packs in France are ahead of him in the number he has taken. The Marquis de Chambray of Normandy hunted up to the year of his death at the age of eighty-six and had killed in all 2556 stags. The hounds and horses of the du Souzy hunt are now kept at Arc en Barrois, situated in an enormous forest about ten to twelve kilometres square belonging to the Duke of Guise, whose château is in the town of Arc. The Duke, who is now on an estate in French Morocco, is a grandson of the Duc de Chartres. The regular hunters were all turned out with horns, hunting-knives, and hunting-

costumes of the time of Louis XV. The horns go over the head and hang from the left shoulder under the arm. The fairly numerous hunt personnel were well turned out on horses in costume corresponding to their grades.

Among the eleven couples of hounds out this morning, there are some superb specimens, taller than the English and somewhat lighter, and none have trimmed ears. As to color this pack is not on a parity with any good English pack. However, there are no blue nor black hounds; they are mainly black-brown and white or yellow and white. Du Souzy, his brother Antoine, and the chief huntsman are past-masters on these hunting horns. Some of the sustained signals, and there are many, are almost in the nature of a tune. Under no circumstances is it permitted to chase a doe. The meet was at a farmhouse in the woods, but the chief *piqueur* has reported that the two stags that had been located are no longer there. These large woods are crossed by the Arc–Chaumont highway and like all European forests have wood roads intersecting at right angles. On one of these all the hounds were securely attached to trees while the hunt began with four dependable animals that would not notice a wild boar and that would be useful in helping select the stag. I say "help," because much depends on the hunters, who can generally tell from the tracks and other signs whether it is a stag. As a rule the riders keep on these wood roads, but I went through the brush woods with the huntsman to hear his picturesque language and see how he handled his hounds. It was an hour before we got a start of a two-year-old stag, and then all the hounds were released. After a certain period he joined two does and that complicated the situation. It was believed that the greater part of the pack was following the stag while some of the younger hounds went after the others. In many places the woods are too thick to be penetrated on horse and therefore these roads must be followed. A knowledge of them is indispensable if one is to keep within the sound of these fast-running hounds.

We mounted at 11.30, started the stag within an hour,

and were running until 3.30 when we lost the hounds. We traveled far and wide without success until 5 P.M., then gave up. My host thinks they must have killed, but in any event he is much chagrined that the hounds should have got entirely away from him for the first time this year. Instead of coming directly back to Gevrolles, we made one final unsuccessful effort by going in an automobile to Mourmons. After five and a half hours in the cold we were hungry, and on arrival at Gevrolles we found a good dinner awaiting us. Édouard du Souzy came down from Paris for this day's hunt and will start to-morrow for Morocco. This morning with du Souzy I made a round of the activities of the château, including the kennels, the fish pond with its large carp and fewer pike, the well-run dairy, pigsty, and poultry yard.

March 11. We learned this morning that our hounds after they had been lost went off nearly to Chaumont, where they made a kill of the stag they were running. All of us went for tea to the Beauregards, who live in the house adjoining the kennels formerly occupied by the chief huntsman.

March 12. All telephone booths here are closed at ten o'clock on Sundays and remain inactive until Monday. This practice goes with the hand-propelled railway gates and the brook laundries, and is indicative of France's conservatism or unwillingness to make such changes as will permit her to compete with countries like the United States and Germany. Even worse than this are the empty cradles. In a château like this one, there is no central water plant, heating plant, nor lighting plant. The fireplaces everywhere are provided with green wood, and as a result every one crowds around the fires or remains cold elsewhere in the study or library. The salons are not used in winter.

We visited the Château Martin — Château Montigny — this afternoon and went through the lower part of it to see again my old 8th Corps headquarters. The owner of Montigny is a very successful manufacturer of velvet

whose factories are at Lyons. His wife detests the country, and she is never, therefore, in this superb château. Later we went over for tea with the d'Harcourts, whose château was occupied by one of my brigadiers, MacFarland, as his headquarters. We were shown their farm, said to be the finest in this part of France. The word "farm" here refers chiefly to the stables and buildings which enclose the cattle, horses, sheep, ducks, and rabbits, rather than to the land. On a long wall of the hall are many prints, engravings of the English branch of the family, one of which represents Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt taking General Lee prisoner "in the Morris Country, New Jersey, 1776."

March 13. This entire day, beginning at nine and ending at eight, was devoted to hunting in the Forêt d'Arc. That statement requires qualification, for, although we left the house in automobile at that hour, we were still at the hunt breakfast in Arc at 11.30. The rendezvous was at the farmhouse in the woods where we found all the du Souzys, including Juliette and the baby. About one year ago we came down to marry them, and now their baby is at the hunt. We were a long time in getting a start. The three or four selected hounds were cold-trailing nearly an hour. Then the entire pack was released and the pace was fast. For two hours I was within sound of the hounds, the only one except the huntsman. We fully expected to make a catch, but the delay in fording the Aujon caused us to lose the hounds. After half an hour's rapid going here and there along the wood roads in that extensive forest, we caught sound of the hounds, but could never overtake them. We kept up the search until eight o'clock, returning home hungry as wolves and thirsty as camels. It was naturally supposed that the stag would stop in the river, but he decided to trust to his legs rather than the water. The run was long and hard, proving again that sport with hounds is not for weaklings. There were a number of ladies and men present at the start in automobiles, and to my surprise they followed as best they could on foot or in their cars and remained out until dark. The table and

the wines here are excellent, and our appetites to-night did them ample justice.

March 14. This morning we went to see the catch of carp made once every two years by M. Martin, an occasion of great interest to the community. By a system of drainage into a small pool, men provided with scoop nets are able to lift out many hundreds of pounds within a few hours. The carp are carefully sorted, and those not kept for reproduction are sold to fish dealers on the spot at prices ranging from two and one half to four francs per kilogram, depending upon the size. After this we had our final meal at Gevrolles given by the Antoines. It was a dinner-lunch prepared nearly as well as it would have been in Paris.

After a most delightful week's sojourn we left at one o'clock for our return trip, stopping a short while at Chaumont. The run thence via Neufchâteau to Toul was made in two hours. To-day an end was made of the disinterment of American bodies at Toul. Leaving Toul, we made a détour of the battle-front from Flirey to Pont à Mousson, passing just north of my battle P.C. at Maimey. It is extraordinary how the names of these places, so familiar to us for most excellent reasons, should be escaping us a few years after their occupation.

March 15. We arrived back at headquarters, Coblenz, at 4.30, where stacks of newspapers and many letters were awaiting me. A letter from J. tells of Dasha's complete recovery and their probable sailing on the April transport. It seems now that the attitude of the Irreconcilables at home and the failure of the Allies to give us satisfaction as to the upkeep of our Rhine forces are responsible for the recent reduction in this command and the possibility of the recall of all of it. European non-consideration of our equities, even though we did not sign the Versailles Treaty, is as short-sighted as it is unfair, and it is not surprising that such a failure would be strongly resented at home. The great accumulation of gold in our Treasury seems to develop a common thought in Europe, that our

financial aid should continue and that perhaps different financial ethics might be adopted toward us. Little does Europe seem to understand the great unrest caused in the United States by our high taxes which the proposed bonus bill and non-payment of interest on war debts is going to keep up — all the result of our participation in the war. France seems to forget that had we not come to her aid she would barely be in existence now; in any event her situation would have been desperate and disastrous beyond imagination.

March 16. Boyden sent me a copy of the proceedings of the conference of the Finance Ministers at Paris. To my surprise he is not in sympathy with the communication he was directed by the State Department to lay before this conference, which has awakened such keen discussion in the French press. I am in complete harmony with it, with the understanding that once our claims are recognized and payment arranged, we shall delay pressing for it as long as may be necessary.

A letter from Secretary Weeks acknowledges receipt of my "comprehensive letter," which he says he cannot answer without consultation with the Secretary of State and the President. As a matter of fact, I expected no solution by him of what was suggested in my letter, though I imagined he would consult with or at least show it to Mr. Hughes. One matter involved in it was to what degree our Government wants me to exercise influence in restraining consolidation on the left bank of the Rhine. It is my thought that the Government is willing, possibly desirous, of having me go a little further than politically prudent instructions would permit; probably that is what I am doing under the principle of no instructions.

March 18. Just as I had reached the conclusion that the question of barracks in Coblenz-Lützel was settled, a letter arrives from Marshal Foch asking for them, based on what seems to me insufficient argument. I must go to the mat with him on this matter, for Coblenz-Lützel is a part of this city which should not be divided between ourselves

and any other troops. Moreover, it is the heart of our holding, where the plants for heating, light, and traction are situated, as well as all our storehouses and railway terminals. All of this I wrote him, recalling the inadvisability of complying with his request. It would be interesting to know what he does on receipt of this letter. Fortunately Washington has left this matter to my discretion, and it may be that my stand will induce the French to think they are better off without us than with us.

In Repington's last book, "After the War," he says of me: "Went on to U.S. Headquarters to talk with General Allen, whose influence carries so much weight. A tall, straight man with straight views and a strong face, a very worthy representative of the United States." Then follow nearly two pages of his interview with me including this: "But I do not think that he will approve of any exaction or excessive claims. He takes a broad, sympathetic, but just view, and it is certainly in the interest of France to *ménager* Allen, as he is a good friend and might become a bad enemy if any hanky-panky were played." This last thought suggests a certain vindictiveness that not a few attribute to Repington, but an attribute which should be condemned in the interest of good judgment.

In a recent speech in the Chamber, M. Maginot, Minister of War, makes it clear that in his mind France must have for her security at home thirty-two complete divisions, which, with the auxiliary arms, transport, aviation, tanks, etc., amount to 475,000 men. The minimum for her foreign theaters of operation is 205,000, thus making her minimum total 680,000. And thus France thinks in time of peace, while other nations are clamoring for disarmament. France no longer limits her armament by the menace of German aggression, but she talks of danger from Russia and the necessity of maintaining the North Sea, Channel, and Mediterranean routes in addition to the Oriental ones.

Berlin has let it be known through Major Kuhlenthal that a representative from there would come to see me

Thursday with respect to making representations in Washington concerning the continuation of American troops here and my designation as High Commissioner. This is a rather delicate matter for me, but its initiation has come wholly from the Germans.

March 21. To lunch with the Grand Duchess Charlotte at Luxembourg. We arrived promptly at noon as directed, and were conducted to the downstairs reception room, two walls of which show the tree of the Luxembourg family with the lion rampant dominating. We were conducted upstairs, where the Court Marshal met us and showed the way into a reception room, where we were presented to two oldish ladies-in-waiting, three French officers, one commandant of the French battalion here, and two serving as aides to the reigning couple. General X, whom I met at Romagne with General Du Pont two years ago, and the Prime Minister were also there. After a short pause the folding doors were thrown open and I was conducted to the Grand Duchess and the Prince Consort, Parma-Bourbon, with whom I had a very agreeable audience. They then retired, and all those from the other room came in. A line was formed with the Prime Minister at the head, to await the return of Her Royal Highness and her consort. They made a tour, greeting all present in a very easy and graceful manner, after which we went out to luncheon. The Prince is a wholesome-looking young man of about twenty-eight or thirty, but his brother looks like many a young Frenchman who has lived too fast.

The Grand Duchess was very neatly gowned in a brown *crêpe de chine* without any other color and wore a short pearl necklace and ear-rings of very large pearls. She is rather light and tall, of very good figure, good intelligence, and good looks without being beautiful. She has a son, John I, about one year old. The deposed Grand Duchess has become a Carmelite nun in Italy, and may never see her mother or sisters again. One sister married Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and another a Saxon Prince, thus showing the sympathy of the family toward the Germans.

The mother and the other two daughters live in Bavaria. The table was decorated with white lilacs and white tulips. The lunch was excellent and the wines especially good. Conversation with the Duchess was very easy. While she did not speak of her American interests, I learned from our consul this afternoon that much of her fortune is invested in American railways, the dividends of which were paid in a lump sum after the Armistice. After lunch I took up a matter talked of during the meal with M. Reuter — a visit to me at Coblenz by Her Royal Highness. Laughingly all of us agreed there could be no political complications created by such a visit, and she seemed much disposed to come. It would be very interesting and amusing to me and perhaps it might be very agreeable to them to have a chance at such an outing.

To-night I dined with the Baron de Waha, the Pooh-Bah of the Government, with an interesting collection of Luxembourgeois. It is an odd fact that de Waha's father fought in our Civil War, and also that the United States contains 250,000 Luxemburgers, or direct descendants of those who migrated to our country between 1848 and 1895. That is just the population of this state.

CHAPTER XV

THE DISTRESS OF EUROPE

Powers opposed to American evacuation of the Rhineland — Lord Hardinge describes failure of proposed Franco-English treaty — French money invested in Germany — Differences between the German occupation of France in 1871–72 and the present French occupation of Germany — The Genoa Conference — Tirard sets forth French views — Ambassador Houghton — The folly of attempting to bottle-up virile German people — Germany's Ambassador to the United States — Farewell sporting events — England's distress — Ambassador Fletcher — Extortion practiced on Americans at Oberammergau — The exhausted Lord Northcliffe — American troops ordered to remain on the Rhine — The Bankers' Conference fails — The German economic paradox — Diplomatic reception in Berlin — Memoirs of the ex-Kaiser — Henry Morgenthau studies Germany — Sir Henry Wilson and Dr. Ernst Rathenau are assassinated — The ceremonious funeral of General Jacquot.

March 22, 1922. A definitive cable came to-day from Washington, saying that the President has decided to bring back to the States all the American forces by July 1st, and asking me to submit a schedule of transports.

On hearing the news of our imminent departure, Tirard left at once for Paris to do what he can to have his Government change this decision. He left word for me that no sacrifice France could make to that end would be too great. It had begun to appear that France might be desirous of having us out of here, for recently I have thwarted her intentions in several matters. Ryan, who voices the British feelings in this matter, says our departure would be a great calamity for Europe. Not a word has been received here yet as to our status at the High Commission when the troops are withdrawn, and I am very dubious as to whether we should continue there under the new conditions even if given official representation. Without troops we should be without a zone and therefore without Kreis officers. That would probably mean the taking over of Coblenz by the French. The whole matter is so complicated that it would be a great satisfaction to discuss it

personally with the State Department. This institution has, however, not expressed any desire to hear me.

March 23. The situation in Germany has become desperate. Wirth says that just when he had strained every nerve to meet the recent demands, a new one of sixty million gold marks for the French mobilization last year, came in like a paralyzing blow. As a result the mark is again falling, this time to 230. This afternoon Prince Hatzfeldt brought Dr. Friedenburg, a personal representative of Dr. Rathenau, to talk over the maintenance of American forces here and official representation on the Commission. He brought this draft of a letter or cable that Dr. R. proposes to send to Washington:

> The proposed withdrawal is causing great anxiety to the population of the Rhineland and the German Government. The American authorities of occupation have distinguished themselves by an impartial use of the privileges allotted them by the occupation. This is of great value because Coblenz is the most important center of German and Prussian provincial authority and its occupation has special political importance for the whole Rhineland. This consideration causes the German Government to request the American Government not to withdraw completely from the occupation of the Rhineland in favor of occupation by any other power. It is desirable that the impartial and moderating influence of the American power of occupation should be asserted soon by official representation on the High Commission.

March 24. As a result of the meeting of the Finance Ministers, Germany has been informed by the Reparations Commission that her total payments for 1922 must be 720 million gold marks and 1450 millions in kind, provided she conform to a certain effective control whereby the customs are supervised, issuance of bills of paper money diminished, the Reichsbank given autonomy, capital prevented leaving the country, control exercised over receipts and expenditures, and German capital returned from abroad. In spite of these new terms imposed and the pessimistic news from Berlin relative to a financial crash and Wirth's downfall, the mark has strengthened.

A letter from Marshal Foch in reply to my last shows him entirely conformable to my views; it contained not the slightest indication of opposition as I had expected. As the Marshal's letter is dated March 23d, he must have known that our troops were ordered home, and yet he grants all my requests just as though our status had remained unchanged. It would seem that he should have delayed answer, but that in thus sending an early reply he wanted to show such a conciliatory spirit as might have influence on our remaining.

From London comes this telegram:

> For reasons affecting State Department negotiations Secretary War directs you withhold until further instructions formal notice to Rhineland Commission or other Allied authority of orders to withdraw remainder your forces, although preparation to carry out orders which have been sent you should proceed without interruption.

March 27. Tirard seems to have almost as much of an office at 3 rue François as he has at Coblenz. Its appearance indicates that France has embarked on a strong economic exploitation of the Rhineland. He had not been able to see Poincaré, and, while he was sure the departure of American representation from the Rhine would be deeply regretted by his Government, he did not know what steps had been taken to thwart such a move. He thought that possibly it would not be advisable for his Government to interfere. He also informed me that he is in close touch with French political thought amongst all classes, and that therefore he could say that "France's motives are much misunderstood by the United States, which is so far away." He said that various Senators and others had spoken to him about our official representation on the High Commission, and had asked whether our Commissioner would not be against him, Tirard, and whether he would not therefore be more alone in that case than he is at present. We were as always quite cordial, but there can never be any complete concordance of views between France and the United States with respect to the present Rhine policy.

March 28. At the Embassy I had an extended conversation with Whitehouse who says Mr. Herrick is due back from Biarritz at noon and is having a dinner party to-night for the Wallaces. At lunch at Voisin's with Boyden he told me of a kind of remonstrance he had made to the State Department *à propos* the blunt letter he was directed to send to the Finance Ministers assembled here, and to which he received a three-page telegraphic reply. He thereupon cabled, "Kamerad! Disarmed, suspenders cut," followed by something less laconic and disrespectful. This is worthy of classification with Elihu Root's cablegram to Taft, who had been seriously ill in the Philippines, but had recovered sufficiently to ride part of the way to Baguo on horseback and had wired that fact to Washington. The short reply of the Secretary of State was, "How is the horse?"

At the Embassy Mr. Herrick said that many persons returning from the Rhine seemed to think the American forces had become pro-German. My answer to that was: the French policy there could not be wholly approved; there is an inevitable resentment just as there was in Washington over certain French demands; we had thwarted some plans that were entertained by the French, wholly at variance with American interests, with our interpretation of the Versailles Treaty, and with our sense of fair play; that if there was a reaction against the French, possibly favorable to the Germans, the fault must lie with the French themselves; that as far as I was personally concerned, my sentiments for France and the French people remained; and that every effort is made to have all elements of the American representation on the Rhine maintain and show an impartial attitude. In the end, the three favored sending a cable expressing regret that the thought of evacuation should be entertained now, that the flag should remain on the Rhine for the present, and that unofficial representation on the High Commission without troops and a certain controlled area would be untenable.

At six o'clock I went to call on Lord Hardinge by appointment. He always seems to be lonesome in that tremendous Embassy, furnished in such a sumptuous fashion, and I might add in marked contrast to the beautifully furnished but relatively small establishment of our Ambassador.

The attitude of the French was keenly on Lord Hardinge's mind, and I was much interested to hear to what length he would go in talking of their present policies. He spoke of Lord Derby's efforts to bring about a treaty with France, which he opposed because of the danger to which French chauvinism might lead, as, for example, marching into Frankfurt and the bare failure to go into the Ruhr. England like the United States wants to see Germany restored that we may profit by the good market, but France wants Germany kept down. When Lloyd George came up from the Riviera, he telegraphed Hardinge to come to the station; thence he came to this house, where Poincaré met him.

"It is in this room Poincaré sat, in this chair, Lloyd George where you are, and I on his right," said my host.

"'About the pact,' was Lloyd George's first remark.

"'But there are many things that must be arranged first; the number of troops fixed, the designation of the staffs, and a combined study presented before the matter can be properly considered,' was the reply."

And thus the Ambassador discoursed on Franco-English relations including the remarks attributed to Loucheur about nonpayment of our debt.

To the international boxing in aid of the American Legion, at the Cirque de Paris. The American and English Ambassadors and Marshal Foch were there. I sat in the Ambassador's box. The Ambassador came in from his dinner later with General Gouraud and Mott. Foch was agreeable as usual, and asked whether I had received his letter. He regretted that we were leaving the Rhine, but said the French Government had not made any representations against this decision at Washington. He seemed to

assume that I was remaining, and asked me to arrange thing with Degoutte.

March 29. Learning that there are certain telegrams at Coblenz bearing on the withdrawal of our forces, Mr. Herrick has held up his cablegram, saying, however, that he would do anything I wanted, that "there is no limit." It would have been indelicate on my part to suggest anything, but later in the day Hutchinson learned he had sent a forceful telegram asking for the retention of some forces and myself on the Rhine.

Called on the Wallaces, who share the house at 60 avenue de Iéna with Lord Derby, and, as Wallace himself was ill, I visited him in his bedroom. He hardly knows what his malady is, but gave me a friendly welcome. He speaks of his card parties with the President, as well as his entertainment of Foch and Briand in Washington. He asked "Fletch" why he was leaving the State Department. The reply was that after one has been an ambassador one does not support well the rôle of answering a bell. It is, indeed, questionable whether an ex-ambassador should return to his former post for permanent or semi-permanent residence. Wallace seems very appreciative of my interest in his boy by "stepping on him hard" as his conduct had demanded. The Duchess of Talleyrand gave us an exceptionally fine dinner at Ciro's before our departure for the train. She had a can of fresh caviar prepared for us to carry away.

March 30. We are back in Coblenz. My correspondence from the States indicates such unrest that life there does not seem specially desirable just now.

Two events to-day are strongly indicative of the dissolution of the A.F. in G., the final ride of the equitation classes in the Mainzerstrasse hall, and the farewell reception given by the cavalry detachment at its mess in Pfaffendorf. This little improvised command had developed into about the best cavalry force that we have ever had in our service for smartness, stable management, field training, and general efficiency.

Sister X, of the Order of Josepha, in charge of the *Kinderheim* at Pfaffendorf with her married sister, Frau X, born Countess Metternich, called to ask assistance for her institution. These two are nieces of the former German Ambassador to London, who at present is living with their father. Tea was brought for them, but the Sister, in accordance with the restrictions of her order, could not eat or drink in a strange house.

April 1. Rolin again expressed the conviction that the total number of troops on the Rhine should be reduced; that the greater the number, the more the friction. He also stated that the killing of Lieutenant Graff of the Belgian Army in the Düsseldorf section, which is not under the High Commission, has caused the greatest excitement in Belgium. He advised Hatzfeldt — who was planning a visit to Aix-la-Chapelle, to call on General Ruoquoy — both orally and in writing, not to go there. He suggested that an officer might insult him. I replied, "Not an officer. Discipline in that class would prevent such an act." He thought not. He has taken the keenest interest in having American representation continue on the Rhine, but feels that his Government has done all it can in that direction. He told me also that French subjects are investing considerable money in occupied as well as unoccupied Germany. Later in the day Tirard confirmed this, and even went so far as to say that the French people did not dislike the Germans, but want to live on friendly terms with them. When I told him that the American people are just now especially opposed to any political agreements with European countries, but that nevertheless it is a great misfortune for the world that the tripartite pact for guaranteeing the safety of France could not be realized, he seemed to be very pleased. Such a thought now as formerly hardly merits consideration by reason of public opinion at home, but to approve such a pact would simply confirm in a certain degree the wisdom and justice of our participation in the World War in behalf of reasonable democracy against unbridled monarchism. In spite of the reaction

at home against war and soldiery, it is not at all inconceivable that we may be involved in another European war within a generation. It seems to me that our presence on the Rhine by its moderating influence must help defer such a catastrophe.

We both agreed that the investment of French money in Germany is one of the very best means of diminishing the traditional hatred.

April 2. Prince Hatzfeldt will bring the newly appointed German Ambassador to Washington, Wiedfeldt, to a quiet dinner with me on Thursday next before the latter's departure for America. While this is entirely correct, it is somewhat delicate because thus far social relations of that character have not been established between Tirard and Hatzfeldt due to political tension. In the interests of better relations between all the countries concerned in the Rhineland, and above all between the two countries most vitally concerned, I proposed to Tirard several months since that he should have the Reichskommissar to dinner. But it would not work. A compilation of letters and documents by a Prince Hatzfeldt, a relation of the Imperial Commissioner, lent to me by the latter, clearly shows that there was less hatred and bitterness in evidence in the German occupation of France after the '70–'71 war, than there is to-day between the two traditionally hostile countries. On the occasion of President Thiers's birthday, the German general commanding the troops of occupation, Manteuffel, proposed his health, in Nancy in April, 1872, in the following toast: "I am happy to drink to the health of the President, of that grand citizen, of that illustrious patriot, who has not children like Epaminondas, but who, like that ancient hero, will leave immortal daughters. I admire and revere him with all my heart. I am deeply attached to him by esteem and affection; tell him that old Manteuffel expresses ardent wishes for his happiness, for his health, and for his noble and precious existence!"

In March, 1873, Thiers wrote from Versailles to Count Saint-Vallier, the French High Commissioner: "Beg

General Manteuffel to continue his good offices until the end of the occupation and say to him that I do not despair of his visit and his presence in my house as soon as he leaves Nancy. Every one will be delighted over the evacuation and there will be found no trace of bitterness. Informed by me of the services he has rendered all will give him the reception he has merited. Give him in my behalf a hearty hand-shake and receive one for yourself whose participation in our good work I shall never forget."

How different all this is from the pleasant occupation as concerns the same two countries!

April 4. In spite of the rumor attributed to Ambassador Jusserand that America will not wholly evacuate the Rhineland, I sent General Degoutte a letter to-day telling him that my orders require sending home all the troops by the end of June and asking that General Johnston be authorized to take up the subject of their replacement in this zone with such troops as he may designate.

Harbord, who is coming over in May, wrote me a letter asking that Payot's interests be looked after at the Commission, where evidently P. thinks he is not in favor. It is truly remarkable that this chief French supply officer, whose encroachments I have so consistently resisted, should find himself asking assistance of Harbord.

Tirard says his Government has made a representation at Washington, as he asked, requesting that all our troops be not withdrawn. In my opinion T. is mistaken because, in the communication sent through Ambassador Herrick, only deep regrets were expressed over our departure.

April 9. The divergence of views held by Lloyd George and Poincaré on the Genoa Conference has not been reconciled, but the former has nevertheless forced the conference into existence, with the understanding that the recognition of the Soviet Government will depend upon its willingness to guarantee pre-war debts. While English necessity for markets and trade is struggling with the French effort to secure reparations and domination, Lloyd George informs the French Government that the American Government

is demanding interest on the British debt, and that therefore he is constrained to say that on the expiration of the three-year interest moratorium given France, which expires next month, he must ask for interest. That is a subtle move confronting France at the opening of the conference, which will anger her, but will have a certain influence desired by the British.

April 11. French detachments are arriving to occupy Fort Asterstein as the beginning of our replacement. The A.F. in G. is almost ended; in the future it will be known only in its history. The American occupation of part of the Rhine Valley over a period of more than three years will be regarded as a striking feature in American events abroad. To me it is indicative of the shrinkage of the earth, of the closer contact of nations, of the interdependence of states, and of the approaching end of American aloofness from Europe. Just as we preach peace, knowing that history proclaims war inevitable, so in our efforts to keep clear of European entanglements we are now withdrawing our forces too soon, in disregard of the wishes of all the foreign states concerned and contrary to the dictates of good judgment.

April 12. The Harrys asked me over for dinner to their billet in Pfaffendorf. They are preparing for their departure to the United States, truly a voyage of discovery for my French daughter. H. has just bottled a barrel of wine produced by his father-in-law, of the vintage of 1917, but what may a family going to America do with such an asset?

April 13. My birthday festivities began with an eight o'clock concert by the 8th Infantry band, which played "Madelon," "Over There," "Le Chant du Départ," and a Sousa march. Presents from the family, my staff, and others are very attractive.

In the session of the Commission both the Smeets and Speyer cases were on the agenda. The former is destined to be a *cause célèbre* in connection with the aspirations of a few Rhinelanders, supported by the French, who are struggling for a separation from Germany, or at least the

organization of a state separate from Prussia within the German Reich. The cleavage between the French and Belgians on one side and the Americans and British on the other is perhaps more marked here than in any other question of principle pending before the Commission. Rolin frankly stated that it is a political question and not a judicial one and that the Commission may make a decision in such cases. That reasoning permits the Commission to override our ordinances and the German courts and causes great despair to Germany for her Rhineland possessions. When all is said, Smeets, the editor of the *Rheinische Republik*, is a German subject, arrested on German soil by German authorities for violation of German laws and tried and sentenced by a German court.

I submitted a comprehensive brief covering the subject with the request that the whole case be given further consideration by the Legal Committee. Both Tirard and Rolin thought at this stage that it would be advisable to leave the case in the Commission, thus practically admitting that the legal considerations involved would be nil.

I witnessed the decoration of ten of my officers with the *Légion d'Honneur* — Hay, Stone, and Coleman, *Commandeur;* Keefer and Sheen, *Officier;* Miller, Talbot, Bartlett, Peck, and Harry with *Chevalier*. At this same time I invested General de Frantz with the Distinguished Service Medal. The ceremony took place on the plaza near the river and all the headquarters senior officers were turned out for it. Madame Degoutte received all of us afterwards at the Ducal Palace, where champagne and refreshments were served.

My four G's gave me a dinner at the Coblenzerhof, to which only the members of my family and my immediate staff were invited. Although this is my sixty-third birthday, my health is so rugged and my hopes of living much longer so great that this milestone brings very little sadness in the joyousness of the day.

April 14. The same mail to-day brought personal letters from two of our diplomats, which show clearly the

difference between the schools represented by them. They are both most interesting. Colonel George Harvey writes in his own hand of an automobile he desires to have transferred to him in London, and of our new Ambassador to Berlin: "Note enclosed from Secretary Weeks. It looks to me like a dicker. What do you ask? Houghton is on his way to you. He seems to me a 'bit of all right.' I have told him to 'follow, follow you.' Hastily, G. H."

That is the entire letter.

The other is from Mr. Phillips who writes: "Thanks to you I am returning to my new work far better equipped than I would have been without your help and I carry with me the pleasantest recollections of my final visit to Coblenz; and that hunt is one of the most delightful experiences of the last two years. Thank you again, my dear General, and do not hesitate, I beg of you, to express yourself freely to me at any time and I will take the liberty of doing the same to you."

The prevailing cold has yielded to springlike weather, bringing out the beautiful fruit-tree blossoms which put the Rhine Valley on a par with Japan for cherry blossoms, and ahead of Nippon for apple and peach blossoms.

Tirard has sent me a narrative based on official data of the German occupation after the '70–'71 war. It is intended to show, and does show, that it was accompanied with far less friction than the present occupation. Two reasons would seem to explain the difference: first, the conqueror at that time represented the stronger nation, and conscious of that fact could act with the greater "wisdom of the victor" than is possible now when the conqueror's victory depended largely on allies and he is conscious of the greater potentiality of the recent enemy; secondly, there was no effort then as there is now to permanently consolidate the power of the victor in the occupied country.

Although defeated, Germany is conscious of commercial and industrial superiority over France, and of her greater advantage in man power; she does not observe those considerations which ordinarily characterize the conduct

of a conquered state toward the victor. As a result of this and a fear for the future, France does not look upon the trade advantages that would accrue to her through a restored Germany as do all the principal states of the world less dangerously situated. These states, notably England and the United States as well as the neutral countries, are quite willing to recognize a status of genuine peace and resume trade on a pre-war basis. While it is natural and easy to criticize France for the policy injurious to European peace and world trade and of most doubtful value to her own welfare in the end, what should we do if similarly placed? In this connection two questions present themselves: (1) How long will the other states consent to a policy of one state, prejudicial to their economic and financial interests? (2) What will be France's destiny with her diminishing population in the coming years when the saber is sheathed? All the world believes that normality would have been much more nearly reached had we ratified the Versailles Treaty with desirable reservations, and France claims that her policy would have been radically different had the United States with England ratified the tripartite agreement guaranteeing her against unprovoked German aggression. These may be facts, but their importance as an argument could not make headway against our traditional policy toward Europe in the period of unusual reaction against war and the actual results of the greatest one. To have ratified this tripartite pact would have been a confirmation of the wisdom and justice of our participation in the great struggle and a guarantee that under similar conditions we should do the same again.

April 16. Owing to the approaching warm weather, to-day is probably the last formal hunt of the season. The drag was faster than at any previous time and the hunt after the two released foxes was about as successful as we had any right to anticipate. The breakfast was given again by the Kilmarnocks. The Lowdens, Tirard, and Rolin were there, and the fine breakfast was followed by dancing and bridge. Tirard told Juliette at lunch that, if

our entire representation on the Rhine left here, there would be fighting within two years. He was much pleased to hear that the French troops now coming into this zone are to be under my command. He said that a policy of having a comparatively small force of troops in Coblenz, composed of Americans and French under my command, and my designation as official representative on the High Commission, would be ideal. Stone, back from Paris, tells of the talks he had with Mr. Herrick, Whitehouse, and Mott. Ochs, of the *New York Times*, told Mr. H. that Foch said to him that I am "acting under orders from Berlin through Mr. Dresel, well known to be pro-German." As utterly incredible as this should have been, it was accepted. Our Paris Embassy does not accurately discriminate between sentiment for France on one side and a just estimate of the political requirements of all the countries concerned in their relations to our interests and to justice on the other. My conception of French Rhineland policy and my continued cordial sentiments for France do not seem compatible to them. Perhaps Tirard's statement this morning about our evacuation would help explain what he thinks of the value of my attitude.

April 18. Hutchinson went to Cologne last night and brought back this morning Ambassador Houghton with his secretary, Anderson. They are stopping at the house. Mr. Houghton is a Harvard man who also studied in Göttingen and is a large manufacturer (of glass) in the central part of New York State. He has been serving as a member of Congress. His pronounced nose and big-rimmed glasses give him a rather odd profile, but his attractive manner, gentle humor, though at times a little cynical, and his broad intelligence, stamp him as a suitable representative for the United States at Berlin. He brings me very flattering greetings from Ambassador Harvey, who, he says, is burning the wires to Washington to prevent American representation on the Rhine from being wholly recalled. This comes as a surprise to me. The Ambassador has been afforded opportunity for rather lengthy talks with the three

Commissioners as well as my assistants. He seems much pleased with his stop here and likewise proposes sending a cable to Washington against total evacuation.

April 19. Dresel arrived from Berlin this morning on his way home to Boston. It seems hard that his conscientiously good work for Uncle Sam since 1915 should not have been recognized by giving him the post at Vienna. He was in conversation with Mr. Houghton until lunch-time, giving him details of the situation in Berlin. Houghton says Dresel was favorably looked upon for the Austrian capital. The Kilmarnocks, old friends of Dresel, came for lunch.

Germany's conduct in signing a new treaty with Russia while the conference was in session was criticized to-day by Tirard, and cited as a further example of that country's dubious knowledge of state psychology. Germany claims that she acted thus in order to forestall a *rapprochement* that France was endeavoring to bring about with Russia. Tirard intimated that Germany should have back some of her colonies, adding that France and England do not need them all. That thought coming from that source was unexpected, and was probably uttered to see what reaction it would produce. However, Tirard would often show a more conciliatory policy were his instructions from Paris less obligatory.

April 20. The competition mass games of the 8th Infantry by company, which took place at Carnival Island this morning, are probably the last important athletic contest of the A.F. in G. They were followed by a hundred-yard sprint in which all the regimental officers participated. This meet and the presentation of the Y cups gave me an opportunity of making some farewell remarks to one of the best all-round regiments that our country has ever had.

I wrote Ambassador Fletcher inviting him for an early visit here in reply to letters received from him. Like Ambassador Harvey, he has obtained permission to purchase a salvaged automobile. Mr. Houghton would like to get

my Locomobile, the one used by President Wilson at Paris.

Hatzfeldt came this morning to say that he must go to Kissingen for the cure; otherwise he would succumb. He is on the verge of a nervous breakdown which he aims to avoid by a three weeks' stay at that place. I assured him Tirard's position is almost as difficult as his, and also told him, to his great surprise, that Tirard would favor giving Germany back some of her colonies. This was told to him with the hope that it would help to make their relations more agreeable. He regrets not having been here to see Mr. Houghton, and gives me a favorable picture of Dr. Wiedfeldt, who, however, is not a trained diplomat. He was greatly disappointed when he was told that our Government's probable present intention is to remove the flag and our entire representation from the Rhine. He thinks, as does every one who studies the conditions on the ground, that now is not an opportune moment for such an act. He feels also that our departure ends the office of the Imperial Commissioner. The only reason for the abolition of this bureau seems to be that France finds it inconvenient and not in harmony with her desire to control all in the Rhineland, while there are many reasons for its continuance. It affords the High Commission a single head to deal with in lieu of six in the occupied territory, and it is the only direct means we have of dealing with questions relating to the Berlin Government.

April 22. There is only one battalion of French troops in Coblenz, but they make more noise with their trumpets and drums than did all my troops a few months since when the city was filled with them. I am still of the opinion that the "wisdom of the victor" demands that an occupation such as this be dignified in its unostentation.

April 24. The approaching visit to Coblenz of the French and Belgian Ministers of War with their respective chiefs of staff and the continuation of their journey to the newly occupied territory, the Düsseldorf–Duisburg region, whether intended as a threat to Germany concerning the

Ruhr, or as a study on the ground connected with the departure of my forces, is an event of importance. To-night Rolin gave a dinner, to which only Americans and Belgians were invited. Owing to the late hour of arrival of Minister Devèze, it was set for 8.30. Rolin's graceful remarks at the end of the meal were directed chiefly to me as the representative of America. In mentioning his contact with Americans and their relations to Belgium, he went back to Andrew D. White, president of our first delegation at the Hague Conference, when *Captain* Allen brought over from Berlin a large wreath for the American delegation to lay on the tomb of Grotius at Delft. He paid warm tribute to Hoover and Whitlock and especially to our relations on the Rhine. All of this was a complete surprise, to which I had to make answer, including reference to the principal guest of the evening, the Belgian Minister of National Defense. The latter then rose and paid a very beautiful tribute to America and all that she had done to help win the war and relieve the sad plight of his country, so terribly tried by its invasion. Like most men of western Europe, he greatly fears the Russo-German Agreement, and, like them, he does not seem to know that Germany cannot swallow Russia, and that, if she organizes and develops that big mass of Slavs too well, she will be creating a great danger for herself. Western Europe should permit Germany's expansion to the east in the conviction that she would be so embroiled with the Russians that her pressure in the west would be greatly diminished. It is simply folly to think that sixty-two millions of virile people such as the Germans can be bottled up by a periphery of hostile states.

April 25. I conducted Minister Devèze to my house, where, in the presence of his military suite and Rolin, I bestowed the D.S.M. on him. He then decorated three of my officers, including Hutchinson. Shortly afterwards I had a conference with General Degoutte in his car at the station relative to sending in his troops into this zone and the billeting situation in Coblenz, in which Tirard

participated. This took place while awaiting the arrival of the French Minister of War Maginot. Degoutte said it was his intention to ask my permission to send in some artillery next into this zone, but remembering that I was a cavalryman he would send in a brigade of dragoons, and he hoped I would shake it up.

When we returned home, the newly appointed German Ambassador to Washington, with two officials from Coblenz, Kuhlenthal and Levitzow, and Bagby, were awaiting me. Although it is considered best and is in accordance with Dr. Wiedfeldt's desire to keep his visit quiet, I deemed it proper to tell both Tirard and Degoutte that he was lunching with me to-day. Dr. Wiedfeldt is a tall, thin man with thin chin whiskers whose apparel would not indicate a man of the world. He is rated a very important and effective man in the Krupp group, but is far from the type that would have been selected as an Ambassador under the old German régime.

The Belgians are undoubtedly in favor of my remaining here as a High Commissioner, but the French are doubtful as to whether or not my stay would not be an obstacle to their efforts. They recognize my sympathy for France, yet they know I oppose them frequently in acts which they deem essential in their Rhine policy. Maginot asked me in the presence of Devèze what I thought of Poincaré's speech, to which I answered, "It is well done." D. smiled; M. looked quizzical. Maginot, with his two metres height, one hundred and twenty-five kilos weight, and his wooden leg, invites attention wherever he goes.

April 28. At a reception for General Johnston, given to-day by the 8th Infantry in its club, it was very striking to note that the large majority of the officers' wives, especially the younger ones, are thin and have dark hair and eyes and a marked absence of color. Their features are fairly good and in general they are good-looking. Can it be that "the melting pot" is producing this as a type of our future woman? I deplore the absence of color and a lack of robustness.

Tirard, in talking with Stone, said that, if Washington decided to have no representation here, he thought it highly desirable that I be attached to the Embassy at Paris as an adviser on Central European matters, especially Rhineland affairs. That surprises me, coming from that quarter.

April 29. Major Ord, Military Attaché at The Hague, with our Chargé d'Affaires, Susdorff, and his wife, arrived to-day *en route* to Switzerland, apparently on a joy ride. Colonel Cox also arrived from Berlin. He confirms the contents of his recent letter that the French Section of the Control Commission headed by General Nollet recognizes that Germany is disarmed, but political conditions demand that publicity be given to the finding of hidden arms, however few they be or unimportant the find is. At a big meeting in Königstein two days ago of the political parties of the Rhineland Centrists, Social Democrats, German People's, German Nationals, and Democrats, they declared their loyalty to the Reich. This is a blow to separatism.

Der Tag of April 28th published a detailed plan of defense prepared by the Franco-Belgian staff, giving as the objectives Münster, Teutoburg Forest, and Hanau, all under the heading, "On the Eve of French Invasion."

The writer of this dispatch shows a close knowledge of the French and Belgian forces, and is evidently an officer of no ordinary military talents, who has perhaps had access to some important documents.

To-day martial law is declared in Aix-la-Chapelle by Ruoquoy, who continually has troubles in his zone. He is a fine, brusque soldier whose war record is excellent, but from many talks with him it is obvious that in political measures he has neither great interest nor unusual talent. He and Rolin are two wholly different types. Tradition, position, and political environment make concord between Belgium and Germany almost as difficult as between France and Germany. Administration in the American zone is far easier, and the same may be said to be true in almost the same degree in the Cologne area. As a result

we have far fewer disagreeable incidents connected with our occupation. It is certain also that the Germans ignore incidents in this zone and in the British that they would not do in the others.

Several disagreeable incidents have already happened between the newly arrived French soldiers and Germans, but drink must share with incompatibility the responsibility for them.

May 2. A code cable delays the sailing of the two 8th Infantry battalions until July 20th on account of reported complications in quartering them in the United States. This has, of course, caused a belief that there is an intention of maintaining a few troops on the Rhine. After the thousands of troops that have been sent home and for which accommodations have been found, it would be remarkable could two battalions bring about serious trouble in that direction now.

Ambassador Wiedfeldt sails to-day for his post at Washington, thus fully restoring diplomatic relations with the old enemy.

One of our finest soldiers, of sterling character and superior attainments, the former Chief of Staff, A.E.F., McAndrews, died three days since. As successor to Harbord at G.H.Q. his work was of the highest order.

May 5. This morning Hendricks called to inform me that General Partonneaux would arrive this afternoon with the advance elements of his cavalry brigade destined for the artillery barracks in Coblenz-Lützel. Johnston was directed to inform General Degoutte that the departure of the last two battalions of the A.F. in G. is delayed a month by instructions from the War Department, and in consequence certain troop accommodations will not be available for French units as scheduled.

May 6. General Degoutte sent down a tentative plan to govern the French troops sent into this zone under my command which recognizes my authority as "territorial commander." It was answered immediately saying that it is acceptable with the understanding that regulations

now in force, in reference to undesirable women and drink stronger than wines and beers, will apply to French as well as to American soldiers, and that my provost courts continue to exercise jurisdiction over all cases between German population and all soldiers in this zone.

May 8. Our races yesterday were well filled and the two Inter-Allied ones, a race and a chase, had each three English and three French contestants besides our own. The English won the former, and we won the latter. It is remarkable that so many of our officers have now become proficient race riders, when two years ago they could barely ride across moderate country.

May 10. Fournier came over to tell of the information from the French War Office to the effect that a thousand American soldiers will remain on the Rhine indefinitely. He wanted to be the first to bring the news. Strange as it may seem, the French War Office has several times in the past had information of changes of our forces before we received any.

This morning two exceptional callers consumed much of my time, a German-American propagandist, and the mother of one of my former officers. This lady had already written me numerous voluminous letters concerning her son, whom she has now located in Berlin, married to a German girl, which she says can never be forgiven. She does not understand why any American should do business in Germany, and, besides, our country needs her son's services at home. She is distressed and grieved that I did not advise her, as an American general should do, what her duties are in the premises and what she can do.

May 12. Dr. von Brandt, with Dr. Appelmann, came over to my headquarters to announce officially the sudden death of Oberpräsident von Groote. He had always been desirous of doing everything possible to remove friction in occupied territory, and I deplore his death. They were informed that either Colonel Stone or myself would attend the funeral services at Neuwied to-morrow. In the mean time it is learned that the Commission has decided that

two youngsters of the Secretariat would represent it. Of course that is not a suitable representation. About one o'clock Tirard called up by phone to ask whether or not I was going to be present, evidently beginning to recognize that the Commission's representation must be changed in that event. In order to assure him that my action was not a criticism of the Commission, I answered that Colonel Stone would represent me.

Coleman came down to report, as desired by General Degoutte, a long conversation relative to the occupation of the Ruhr in case the demands on Germany are not satisfied by May 31st. In accordance with his views France must either have her reparations or die, and rather than perish she should make an effort to collect them independently of the Allies. He feels that, even if the Reparations Commission does not reach a settlement with Germany before that date, it still would be a mistake for France not to act; that sooner or later she must do it, and that there can be no better time than the present. The sincerity with which Degoutte must be credited makes his views all the more unfortunate for the peace of Europe, because they represent no small part of political and military France. It is becoming daily more evident that, in questions between members of the occupying forces in the French and Belgian zones and Germans, both Tirard and Rolin support their nationals even at the risk of disregarding our ordinances, while Kilmarnock either says nothing or agrees.

Marshal Foch met King George and Field Marshal Haig on Notre Dame Hill in Flanders yesterday, whither the King had gone to lay a wreath on the tombs of French soldiers. While the two marshals were exchanging greetings, the King took their clasped hands in his and said, "Toujours les bons amis, n'est-ce pas?" The welfare of Europe depends much upon these good Franco-English relations, which are, however, nearly always strained.

One of our finest exhibitions of boxing took place this afternoon at Liberty Hut, in which three French and two

British champions appeared against our men. We won four bouts and tied in the other two. This afternoon, however, marks the end of our superiority on the Rhine in this sport, for within a few days some of our best glovemen depart for the States.

May 14. Dr. Gulder, of the American Relief Association, a professor of history at Leland Stanford University, has arrived here from Russia. He says that even though the Russians are producing enough to feed themselves this year, their condition next year will be worse than now; that the Soviet Government has made many concessions not in compliance with their original principles; that the billion-dollar loan spoken of at Genoa would in no important way suffice to restore the country. His special object in coming to see me is to have our records — or copies of them — filed and stored at Leland Stanford University, where the greatest care would be taken of them and where any instructions regarding their disposition as to time or usage will be zealously guarded. In this, too, he claims to be acting for Hoover. He thinks that records sent to the State Department or to the War Department are simply stored and consigned more or less to oblivion; yet I question whether either of these departments would accede to such a request as he makes.

May 16. Charles H. Grasty arrived this morning and says an earnest expression from Hindenburg, known as a serious, frank Prussian, would be of the greatest value to history. As time goes on, each state is more disposed to magnify the exploits of its own sons and minimize those of the sons of other states. It would be well for the world not to forget that only through America's final participation were the Entente forces saved from complete defeat. Marshal Hindenburg, however, is not so ready or willing to talk and write as is his war collaborator, Marshal Ludendorff.

Besides my house guests I had the Morrises, Williamsons, Tilsons, and several others for dinner. Tilson's visit

is in a way official, and has for its object, he says, to get such information concerning American representation on the Rhine as will permit him to defend it on the floor of the House should attacks be made on it at any time. Mr. Morris has been our Minister in Stockholm for eight years. His breezy manners and forward appearance recall his successful business career, and the extraordinary pearls worn by Mrs. M. suggest unlimited affluence. From what he says it is clear that his hospitality in the Swedish capital must be most lavish.

May 17. Bagby sent to Cox in Berlin a rather long memorandum setting forth the reasons why the interview Grasty wants with Marshal Hindenburg would be valuable in improving German-American relations and useful for historical reasons. A clear statement of when and how the arrival of our forces first made it evident to the Germans that their chances were gone, and also what he thinks would have been the result without our participation, would do much to settle public opinion on a matter of much moral value. No statement from Marshal Hindenburg will change the fact, but coming from that source it will be important in coming years for the prestige of the United States in its relations to Europe.

The Harbords arrived from Antwerp this afternoon, and are stopping in the house. When William Phillips reached home he impressed his views on Secretary Hughes, who succeeded in having President Harding delay the return of two 8th Infantry battalions. Secretary Weeks still thinks that, for various reasons, chiefly interior political ones, all troops should be brought home, and there the matter rests. Perhaps much will depend on the approaching primaries as to whether the troops remain. The President is between conflicting requirements, external on the one hand and internal on the other. At my first army post, Fort Keogh, Montana, Mrs. Harbord was a beautiful small girl, Emma Ovenshine, and her husband was one of my most effective assistants while commanding the Philippine constabulary. He proved

GENERAL DEGOUTTE

GENERAL HARBORD

himself one of the very best officers during the Great War and it is a great pleasure to have them here.

Congressmen Collins and Brooks came around this morning to pay their respects and to say that, though they are Democrats, they are just as much entitled to automobile transportation as is their Republican colleague, Tilson. When I told them the last-named had come over under orders, they still insisted that they had the same rights and would have had the same orders had they been Republicans. Moreover, they maintained that Tilson's orders are "bunkum." My assurances to them that the orders of the Secretary of War to me are decidedly real seemed not to have produced the slightest impression on them.

The distress in England, due to the large number of unemployed, makes it imperative for her to seek additional markets that her factories may run on a normal basis, and that largely influences English policy.

May 19. It was not my intention to go with General and Mrs. Harbord to Cologne, but both he and General Godley appeared to want me, so I went. At the Godley house we found Lord d'Abernon and other house guests. General Godley evidently wants me to feel that the parade on the Cathedral Place is as much for me as for Harbord, but on the other hand I want it all to go for Harbord. The small exhibit of troops shows to what extent the British Army on the Rhine is reduced.

Our lunch was very agreeable. General Bingham, Lady Norah Bentinck and Mrs. Stevenson from the British Embassy in Berlin were also present. General Bircham confirms, what many of us know, that Germany is disarmed and is incapable of making war because she has neither supplies nor guns. He voices Nollet's views also, yet the French press continues to magnify every small find of arms reported by the Control, and cites them to prove that Germany is not disarmed. He thinks the London police more capable of waging war than the Reichswehr.

On returning home, I find that Mrs. Wallace and Grasty

have given up the proposed visit to the Passion Play and will continue a few days longer with me. General and Mrs. Atterbury and daughter arrived to-day with a letter of introduction from Harbord. They came for dinner to-night. It was he who headed our railway transportation in France and built large numbers of railway lines on the American plan in that country. Possibly because he was the Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Railroad when he was selected for overseas duty, he came over with instructions that made him report direct to General Pershing and not even to his chief of staff. That was impracticable, and in the end his duties fell under the direction of the base port commander, which he admitted was in accordance with good administration.

May 20. At General Degoutte's request I accompanied the Harbords to Mainz on their visit to him. Johnston, Partonneaux, and the Hendricks were also of the party. Mrs. Harbord's dignified and attractive manner left no indication that she was not wholly at her ease, though neither she nor Madame Degoutte could say a word to each other. This was the first occasion on which the latter, who is a confirmed invalid, ventured jesting with me. In referring to my preference for black bread, she saw my German tendencies, and though my soldiers in the early days of the occupation had white flour, she had to eat black bread.

Our return was via Langenschwalbach, where by chance I saw Allen with his nurse in the street. His father and mother are at Oberammergau, stopping in the family of Anton Lang who takes the part of the Messiah.

Before the Harbords left this morning for the battlefields, he gave evidence of the importance he attached to retaining the flag on the Rhine, and remarked, "It would be a crime to send you away from here now."

It is a great satisfaction to know that Lloyd George received an ovation on his return, however sterile in results may have been his creation, the Genoa Conference. He has shown throughout a strong effort to heal the wounds of

war and bring about reconciliations. He fully recognizes the vital importance for England of having markets, and with this thought in view he has developed such a forward policy toward the Soviet Government as to cause the United States and France to recoil. Still, all the thirty states agreed to a peace pact, to an abstention of hostilities for a period of eight months. However short this period may be, a peace agreement is there. That conference brought together at the same table in peaceful discussion Roumanians and Russians, Czechs and Hungarians, Jugo-Slavs and Italians.

May 22. In a letter to Mr. Herrick concerning the approaching Verdun ceremony, I ventured the suggestion that he extol peace as the great goal to which our country is now exerting its utmost efforts. Mr. Herrick's warm sentiments for France are of long standing and are made doubly deep through the love the French people bestow on him. In all my experience I have hardly met a more lovable man than he, unless it be Andrew D. White or Robert M. Thompson. Perhaps it is fortunate that representatives to foreign countries should in a way become partisans of the country to which they are accredited, thus giving themselves greater local influence; but I suspect word and act based on a judicial study of their surroundings would eventuate a greater good to the accredited country as well as to their own. Perhaps that sort of frankness would rob diplomacy of one of its dearest attributes.

May 24. The Finance Minister of Germany, Hermes, has returned to Berlin just as the financial committee, of which J. P. Morgan will be the star, begins its sessions. It is generally understood that Hermes and the Reparations Committee are in sufficient agreement to eliminate any additional sanctions. Germany must stop printing paper money, she must balance her budget, and she must submit to some sort of control over her finance either by the Reparations Commission or by a loan committee.

In the trip to Idar, in Birkenfeld, where the industry of stone-cutting is followed by many of the inhabitants in

their individual houses, we went from Waldefriede by Bingen, Kreuznach, and Oberstein. I imagine the two villages, Idar and Oberstein, are as important in producing semi-precious jewels as is Pforscheim in manufacturing jewelry. We purchased various articles, including synthetic stones, waistcoat buttons made out of topaz and amethyst, ash receivers ground out of agate boulders, and cigarette cases of chalcedony and other stones. While the totals for these articles in marks are great, they are not much in dollars.

The Fletchers have arrived, and we dined with the Stones in the open air in their garden. Fletcher impresses me very much as he did when I first met him in Pekin in 1904, as a plain man of good intelligence and much character. Since then I have not seen him, but his diplomatic experience, especially as Ambassador in Mexico and Under-Secretary in Washington, have given him useful training for his present post at Brussels. He has in his Embassy two of his old Rough Rider associates. In expressing surprise to him that the State Department had not given me any instructions as to the Rhine question, he simply stated that no one knows anything about it, and that it was considered best to give me a free hand, and to leave me to act as circumstances seemed to demand. That certainly answers a thought that has been perplexing me many months — has the State Department any convictions as to what our policy toward the Rhine should be? There are fewer questions of greater interest to the peace of the world than this one, and it would seem to be a wise measure to give it unusually careful study at Washington.

May 26. I had a dinner for the Fletchers, attended by the Commissioners, Mrs. Church, and some of my senior officers with their wives. Fletcher was somewhat surprised when I made a few remarks of welcome to him and the Ambassadress, in which I narrated our common service in Cuba and the Philippines, our subsequent meeting in China, and our more recent relations, though in writing, while he was Under-Secretary. He replied in a humorous mood which caused some merriment at the table. On similar occasions

at the houses of my "associates" such speeches are generally so formal as to leave little chance for humor.

May 27. Before their departure for Brussels, I accompanied the Fletchers to the commissary, where they made various purchases, especially of Havana cigars, which are being sold at about one third of their price in the United States. Before leaving, he told me the details of the decision to bring home all the troops, arrived at while the President, Secretary Weeks, and he were in Florida, but which Secretary Hughes considered a little premature when apprised of it.

Stone had a severe fall from his horse this morning and was taken to the hospital; Creed broke his collar-bone at the horse-show yesterday; and Mrs. Bagby's fall at the jumps a week ago broke her leg. Sport is demanding its toll.

The extortion practiced in Bavaria on our people visiting Oberammergau seems to be officially proved, since the state theater in Munich demands of us five times the price paid by nationals. The Andys and others, when told they must pay five times the scheduled prices, refused to do so, and left the theater.

May 28. The fateful day of May 31st has been postponed for two weeks, and even Poincaré is willing to give the Germans an additional month in which to comply with demands. That presages good, and is undoubtedly connected with the Reparations-Bankers' Committee now sitting in Paris.

In the Inter-Allied steeple chase of 4000 metres at Wiesbaden, in a field of fine horses, our representative was barely beaten for first place, and the same is true of the Inter-Allied flat race of 2000 metres. All the English horses were scratched because they thought their handicaps were excessive. Even in such matters as this the difference between the English and French crops out.

The prices in this resort have doubled in three months, and yet they are far below those in Paris. Rather than return to Coblenz to-night we are stopping at the Hôtel Rose. Wiesbaden always recalls my honeymoon and the heyday

of the Kaiser, when as Military Attaché at Berlin I was his guest here during maneuvers. The present moment is perhaps one of the most interesting from an historical point of view in the existence of this renowned resort.

May 30. On this Memorial Day the members of the High Commission called on me in a body, to express in a formal way their feelings. As all our soldier dead have been removed from this zone, our services here were very limited.

In inviting Mr. J. P. Morgan to visit here, I endeavored to make it clear that this Rhine problem may not be well understood at home in its relations to general peace and to our trade interests, and that here he might crystallize his views with advantage to our country. To give Germany a better rating she should show a better effort to comply with demands made on her under the provisions of the Versailles Treaty; likewise the lifting of the military sanctions and a considerable reduction in the holding forces would be immediate factors in any proposed German loan by showing the world a less aggressive spirit on the part of France.

General Hennocque with his aide is now stopping with me while here to inspect General Partnoneaux's cavalry.

May 31. Right now, with optimism for the results of the Bankers' Conference, there is more composure in the French press than has existed for many months. The acceptance by Germany through Hermes's negotiations of the terms due to-day, and the prospect that the proposed international loan will give France a chance of getting some liquid money at an early date, are probably responsible for the temporary quietude. Under these improved peace indications the mark has advanced thirty points within a few days. Not less important in bringing about this improved situation is the conviction and expressed intention of public opinion in both England and France that these two countries must march together in the rehabilitation of Europe. In the background the United States is, by its attitude, demanding that these countries compound their differences. The strong financial lever in our hands and our well-known desires and efforts for peace give us a potent

influence in Europe at this stage. The Reichstag has officially confirmed the partition of Upper Silesia with the flag on the building at half-staff and the Chancellor and Cabinet in deep mourning. While the President of the Reichstag made his address, all the members remained standing.

June 1. On returning from Wiesbaden we stopped at the Ritter Park Hotel at Homburg for luncheon with J. L. Harriman. Though I passed through this resort many years ago, this was my first halt there. The Kurhaus is very large and the surrounding country beautiful. Much of the British vogue for this place is due to visits King Edward used to make there. After lunch we went to the big Roman camp Salzburg a few miles outside of Homburg, which was thoroughly restored through the efforts of the late Kaiser. For a long time there was a discussion as to whether this was the famed camp Alesia. In any event its restoration shows clearly that it was a very large permanent camp, the arrangements and conveniences of which would do credit in many respects to a modern camp.

To-night Godley called me up to say that Northcliffe had arrived at Cologne exhausted, but wants to see me and asks whether I can lunch or dine with him to-morrow.

June 2. This morning a telegram from our Ambassador in Berlin asks whether the War Department has authorized me to sell him a salvaged Cadillac limousine. This makes the third Ambassador who has asked for this privilege.

I arrived at Godley's at 4.30, and met there not only Lord Northcliffe, but Mrs. Brinton, whose hospitality I enjoyed when last in London. I was much interested in meeting Lord Northcliffe, Lloyd George's greatest antagonist and heckler. Mr. Herrick had suggested to him that he see the American zone and talk with me. His appearance does not indicate a delicate man by any means, but in his face and manner one quickly discerns that he is excessively nervous and needs rest. He is a fluent talker and a good listener. He is a francophile and a strong protagonist of the policy of having his country and ours march together. He has just visited the devastated regions, and is

full of them. He asks what the United States or England would do were they situated like France. He covered nearly every part of the world in his conversation; said he is more apprehensive of the Far East than of Europe; that the Bankers' Conference is the best prospect for world improvement; that one American soldier with a flag at Coblenz would suffice; that Russia's trade before the war was only five million pounds with England; that Ireland's situation is not so bad as it was one hundred years ago; and that we would never give up the Philippines because they are a wonderful distributing center. We differed much at times on the European situation, and in the end I decided that, with his remarkable talents and extensive knowledge of world matters, his approaches and conclusions are those of a journalist rather than an accurate thinker or judge. His strong defense of France seems to be a matter of policy, while his intense association of the United States and England in world welfare is a principle. Later, in conversation with Barton, he said, "After all, your chief is right," probably referring to my peace preachings rather than to the causes of the war, the horrible incidents connected with it, and the dreadful aftermath.

Northcliffe, who is half Irish, and his hosts, who are all Irish, were amused when I remarked that the Irish get along far better with the French than do the English. In speaking of the French demands at Washington and the manner in which they were put, Northcliffe's language was as terse as it was uncomplimentary to his declared friends.

June 3. A telegram from Mr. Herrick expresses keen regret at my inability to be present at Verdun to-morrow. It is also a source of regret to me because the opportunity would have been excellent for a talk with him as well as M. Poincaré. At the Kilmarnock dinner to-night all the Commissioners and deputies were present. While the coffee was being served, General Hay brought in a cablegram from the War Department containing the following:

Instead of personnel previously authorized you are authorized to retain in Germany after June 30, 1922, until further orders,

the 8th Infantry, less one battalion, together with the necessary commissioned and enlisted personnel and staff units to constitute a suitable composite force with a total personnel of all grades and classifications of approximately 1000 and in no case to exceed 1200, including officers.

The contents of this cable were made known to the officials of the Commission, all of whom expressed great satisfaction; yet I cannot help feeling that Tirard has qualms as to my remaining by reason of the strong opposition often made to his proposals. To oppose French policies does not mean here, any more than it did at Washington, that our sentiments for France and the French people have vanished. Unfortunately, however, these gallant people too often show undisguised evidence of belief in the Biblical declaration that "He who is not for me is against me." If by our participation on the Rhine we can help the cause of peace, why should we be radically influenced by the wishes and desires of a single state? The Rhine problem is not wholly French, otherwise we should not be here. And if we are here for the good of the world, why should such great importance attach to France's wishes in connection with our continuation or departure?

The members of the A.F. in G. are elated over the telegram continuing the forces here, and I have already asked that Harts be sent over to be utilized for the military end of this representation as Stone is for the civil. The Germans celebrate Whitsuntide far more than we do, and just now choruses are heard night and day, sung by schools and parties of young and old on marches with knapsacks and stringed instruments. These musical "Vereins" may be seen on the roads in all parts of the country districts.

June 5. Under the changed conditions I have been outlining a policy to my senior staff officers in which each one is to be charged with his full share of responsibility for proper American representation regardless of whether he be serving in a civil or military capacity. Mr. Robbins, Councilor of our Embassy at Berlin, has arrived, and

says that the German state officials in that capital do not entertain, and that the old society set do not often meet the foreigners; therefore, at Mr. Houghton's reception there will be no Germans.

I hurried down from the polo field to the house for an engagement Tirard made with me for five o'clock. He is concerned that the "official *Amaroc*" should state that Germany had also strongly requested the retention of the American forces; that such a statement would queer him as well as his Government if the French people should learn that, while he and his Government were recommending this continuation, there might have been an understanding between Germany and ourselves along the same lines. He was assured that the *Amaroc News* is not official, and that Germany had undoubtedly requested our retention. He seemed to be relieved only when told that the press of the United States had carried that news, that it was a well-known fact, and that the *Amaroc* had not got its information from my headquarters.

I then asked him whether the guarantee proposed long ago by the United States and England to France against unprovoked German aggression would change France's policy toward Germany. His first answer was "Yes"—that France would reduce her army greatly and would have fewer troops on the Rhine. Then he added that it would be necessary also to change the Prussian spirit in Germany. He does not know how that can be done. In a word, thinking Frenchmen are for the most part at a loss to know what to do in the face of a growing Germany and a stationary France. He expressed himself at length and freely about the separation of the Rhineland from Germany. He recognizes that these people are Germans, that at most it would be a separation from Prussia, and that even then the Parliament would be wholly German, and that French opinion could not dominate. The most he could hope for would be the friendship of this new state. If these thoughts could be inculcated in France and carried out on the Rhine, much would be accomplished in abating hatred. He thinks we

should stay here as evidence of our continued solidarity with the associated states.

June 6. While extolling France's great moral courage and the exploits of her army, I had hoped that Mr. Herrick, three years after peace is signed, would preach at Verdun a little brotherly love instead of making an invidious contrast between France and Germany. Among other things he stated, "No medal will ever be struck by the United States in commemoration of German valor at Verdun, because the German valor and sacrifices were poisoned by the causes to which they were devoted"; and, "The moral superiority which France displayed over Germany during the war"; and also, "May the German nation come sometime to a full realization of this which to us seems axiomatic." Such talk from one of our highest officials in Europe, with all of whose states we are at peace, does not make for peace restoration, or trade.

June 7. Yesterday all delegates of the Reparations Commission except the French approved the recommendation of the Bankers' Committee forcing a reduction of the reparations in order that a foreign loan might be obtained for Germany and money secured for the states looking for reparations. As usual France had her way. Although the Reparations Commission cannot change the amounts, it may determine the times of payment, and that phase of the question will now be considered by the Bankers' Committee.

Mrs. Morris's lunch at Langenschwalbach was a pretentious affair, at which the Mordacqs, Kilmarnock, Countess Nostitz, the Shipows, and many others participated. The Countess has wonderful pearls which she is now disposing of one at a time to pay her expenses and help support some of her family, she says, in the United States. It is unthinkable to her that she might sell all of them at once and live on the interest from the proceeds of the sale.

June 8. J. P. Morgan in Paris wires his regrets that he cannot come up here now, "because things here are in such shape that I cannot make any plans at all."

The Bankers' Committee finds that it can do little or nothing until the Allies are in better accord, and therefore has adjourned for three months; in the mean time it will define the conditions under which a foreign loan to Germany might be successful. This *impasse* has caused the mark to drop back to 290 to the dollar. Stinnes is bold enough to declare publicly that a considerable rise in the mark would prevent German manufacturers from successfully competing as at present in the world markets and would not therefore be desirable.

June 11. In compliance with General Degoutte's invitation to lunch with him to-day, the Commissioners and I went up in the Commission car attached to a regular train. I apologized to them for not appearing in a frock coat, because I had no top hat, whereupon they said the Commission would vote me one, that my appearance might be correct another time. We were joined at the Coblenz station by two or three Belgian generals invited to the same lunch. At the Mainz station there was a car for each of us with corresponding flags, together with the usual guard of honor and a cavalry escort. Generals Johnston and Hay were at the station on our arrival and accompanied me. At the palace there was also a guard of honor to receive the party. It was a stag luncheon, including all the French generals of the Rhine and others. Tirard thinks it is our fault that the Bankers' Conference at Paris has failed because we will not reduce France's debt in proportion to the proposed reduction in reparations. Like many of his compatriots he does not understand that even should there be an international equity involved there is surely no international legal obligation devolving upon us.

After lunch a few of us walked into the garden at the side of the palace, and there Degoutte approached me with the subject of putting French troops in the American zone. For the first time he spoke of them in numerical terms rather than in units; but with all candor I could not consider that method of arriving at the French strength to be admitted into the American zone, especially while their

units are now so depleted, and I therefore told him that two regiments of infantry and one of artillery could be very properly looked after, but not more. He seemed to appreciate the importance of maintaining American supremacy in the Coblenz bridgehead, and very readily agreed to my proposition, which authorized a little more than half what had been proposed. From the speeches at lunch and in conversations with generals present, there is evident reason to believe that the French consider that the advantages of our remaining would outweigh those that would follow our departure. In the mail coach which conducted us to the *Concours Hippique*, the Commissioners and I sat inside, while General Degoutte and about eight generals sat on top.

June 12. Hutchinson and Fieker invited a few of us out to their hunting preserve near Waldeck for lunch, and there we found them in a most attractive but very small hunting-lodge in the depth of the woods. The season for roe deer opened June 1st, and they have already stalked and killed four bucks. They do their own cooking and the luncheon they served was delicious.

June 13. *En route* to Berlin. A letter from General Sharpe in London says he is greatly agitated over the propaganda preached there against the French, including some that is so outrageously absurd as to thwart its purpose. He asks answers to nine questions, such as: Have the French 900,000 black soldiers? and, Were so many black French soldiers killed during the war that it was difficult to find a dead white poilu?

The party for Berlin includes the Sturgeses, the Andys, the Herrs, and Barton, and we are proceeding thither in my railway car. When we were in Berlin last year the mark was at a very low stage just as it is now, and much pessimism is manifest throughout Germany. In spite of this there is an air of prosperity shown in the many new constructions seen nearly everywhere. This fact makes the French feel that her reparations should be forthcoming. The prosperity of the individual and corporation is in

contrast with the pauper status of the state, a remarkable paradox.

June 14. We were met on our arrival at the Potsdamer Bahnhof by Robbins, Cox, and Anderson of the Embassy, and escorted to our temporary domiciles, Barton and myself to the Embassy, the others to the Kaiserhof. The Swiss Minister, who had been in Berlin but two weeks, died last night, and, after due consultation, Mr. Houghton has put off the diplomatic reception for a week. The Embassy at No. 7 Wilhelmplatz, the same building used by the Gerards and Dresel, has been completely renovated, and all was in beautiful readiness for the dinner at eight o'clock and the reception at ten. The stuccoed surfaces of the buildings in Berlin show blackness and peeling in contrast to former days, and the untidiness of the streets and their policing are striking evidences of the great change that has taken place in this city, once declared by an American commission sent over to study municipal administration the best administered city in Europe.

Facing the Robbins's house on the Linden is a fine building that would have been most suitable for purchase as an American Embassy. For a while it was obtainable at $10,000, then the price went to $50,000, then to $100,000, and now it can only be had for half a million. That shows that there is at least some financial hope of better days in benighted Germany.

After lunch we walked along the Linden from the Gate to the Palace looking at the shops, where the prices in the depreciated currency are almost equal to those in Paris. At Braun's articles that recently cost twelve to fifteen francs in the French capital are six to eight hundred marks. Everything is much dearer than it was one year ago. We took tea at the Adlon, where the lounge was filled with people, most of whom are not foreigners. The dinner and reception to-night were limited to the personnel of the Embassy and the Consulate. There were fourteen at the dinner, and about thirty came in afterwards. The flower arrangement for the house is in excellent taste; masses

of delicately tinted hydrangeas predominated; one large room had only fragrant peonies with the varied colors that Germany produces in abundance; and the dining-table was decorated with masses of violets over which a profusion of orchids was spread. The only persons present not connected with our official representation in Berlin were Herbert Swope and his wife. His aggressive loquacity has not deserted him and his energy continues in evidence.

In a brief toast after dinner in the palm room, in expressing his pleasure at our presence, Mr. Houghton went so far as to say, "To the greatest American in Europe, a great soldier, a great statesman, and a great diplomat." Of course, there could be no answer to such flattery as that.

June 15. Rathenau, Under-Secretary von Haniel, Crowninshield, editor of *Vanity Fair*, Swope, and a few members of the Embassy were at lunch. All the German officials in a dignified way expressed their satisfaction over our continuation at Coblenz, without asking any questions or making the slightest suggestion as to details. At the table I was placed next to Rathenau, who is not only a convincing speaker, but a good listener. After the lunch in the little palm room the Rapallo Treaty was discussed *in extenso*. Houghton has just made a careful study of the Russian question for the State Department and that made this talk doubly interesting. Before it was ended Rathenau's cards had nearly all been played, and I might add that Houghton's opposition to that treaty and our well-known refusal to recognize the Soviet Government were instrumental in causing Rathenau to make the best possible showing. Primarily he says the treaty is a peace document, essential for Russia as well as Germany; there are no military clauses; if one has a vicious riding-horse, he does not leave it entirely, because it would get worse — he stays with it and endeavors to make it tractable. There could be no thought that, without handling, it would ever be less vicious. There is nothing in the treaty that is not favorable to European restoration, nor is it directed against the interests of other countries. The signing was

hastened by the action of France, which was demanding that Germany pay reparations to Russia; had this move succeeded, Germany would have been mainly surrounded by states demanding reparations.

To-day the final documents relative to the transfer of Silesia, in accordance with the recommendations of the League of Nations, approved by the Supreme Council, have been signed, and it is stated all the Allied troops will be out by July 18th.

The Embassy luncheon to-day was intended specially to bring Rathenau and myself together. He says his present duties, difficult though they be, are perhaps less onerous than was his task at the outbreak of the war in organizing the raw materials required in the prosecution of that struggle. He says the Rhine Valley is so important, by reason of its coal and iron factories, to the life of the Reich, that a separate state formed there would mean the collapse of Germany; that if it were separated from Prussia, its separation from Germany would follow in six months. Shortly after the Armistice that entire region wanted to cut loose from Germany because it had all the elements necessary to sustain itself and it would be free from the great debt burden the war created. Had France followed a more clever policy, that desire might have eventuated in an independent state. He is absolutely certain that the large manufacturers were strongly in favor of separation. It was a mistake to take Lorraine in 1871, but Alsace was and is German, as is the entire population of the left bank of the Rhine; there is not a town of that bank that speaks French. For him there is, therefore, no Rhine problem. Germany gets only about one ninth of the Silesian output that she formerly had. She has lost Briey and temporarily at least the Saar; hence the absolute necessity of the Ruhr to her.

June 16. This morning all the principal American journalists called together to see me at the request of Mr. Houghton and were received in his presence. I talked with them for forty minutes on matters principally connected

with the Rhine, endeavoring to show that good briefs could be made for the countries having the greatest differences there. In a word, my talk was so phrased that it could have been made to a chauvinistic German or a Frenchman. There is always danger in talking even thus guardedly, but fortunately the press has nearly always treated me most fairly.

The lunch to-day was largely for members of the Embassy, though Representative Copley, with his wife and sister-in-law, was present. He is making a study of the economic conditions in Europe, but I fear he must be somewhat in error when he tries to reconcile supporting a laborer's family in Germany on one hundred to one hundred and twenty marks, worth thirty-five to forty cents, with what a laborer of the same category receives in the United States. In Germany the purchasing value of one hundred marks at the present time in the ordinary commodities that a laborer requires is about five dollars. He must therefore compare the purchasing power of the wages in the two countries.

With the Ambassador and Mrs. Houghton, I dined to-night with von Haniel at his residence on Tiergartenstrasse. The party was not large, but the dinner was well appointed, the food choice, and the wines superior. An aunt serves as châtelaine. Von Haniel seems to be the chief entertainer of the Government, for it is stated that he has given sixty-five dinner parties since the beginning of last winter, nearly all of them of a more or less formal character. He carried some of his wines to Washington before the war, and brought them back to his native land. Dr. Rathenau was there, disposed to speak quite frankly concerning the present unfortunate condition of Germany, and so was Herr Horstmann, formerly of the German Embassy in Washington. I was between two Danish sisters, one the wife of the Chargé of that country. Countess X, a well-known German name, bitterly decried the personnel of the present Government as well as the people now most in evidence in Berlin. She says the best families

have not enough money to live elsewhere than on their estates, and that Berlin is swarming with profiteers. Germany since its revolution is passing through the same stages that all other countries have gone through under similar conditions. Fortunately this country experienced a minimum of blood-spilling in going from a monarchy to a constitutional government.

The inability to have my car attached to the train originally intended caused me to hurry from the dinner party for another train, so early that my desired conversation with von Haniel was interrupted. He is a Rhinelander from Duisburg, and is keenly interested in the political activities connected with the occupation. He is a good representative of the Junker class kept in the administration of the country by reason of his knowledge of governmental administration. He complains of the continued pin-pricks his country is subjected to, but his diplomatic training prevents him saying anything that would be offensive to any country.

June 17. When leaving Cologne, my car struck and knocked down a tramway conductor, who jumped off his car without looking around. Fortunately he was not seriously injured. In all my automobile travel in Europe, some of it necessarily at high speed, that is the first time my car has struck a human being.

In a humorous vein Harbord writes of his recent visit here and says, "I am glad to have had a look at a real King."

While at lunch General Hay brought me in this cable from Secretary Weeks: "If Turkish Government assents to investigation of conditions in Anatolia the President will detail you and General Harbord to represent this Government." That is a surprise of some dimensions, which I am endeavoring to have reach Harbord before he sails from Antwerp on the 20th.

June 18. My chief of staff, Hay, took leave of me this morning on his departure for Antwerp *en route* to the Mexican Border, where he will command a brigade of

cavalry. His loyalty and conscientious performance of duties will long be remembered.

Northcliffe's articles have been cut short by his illness. The few that appeared in his daily papers in both England and France left the impression that he traveled widely in Germany and had interviewed many people, whereas he came straight to Cologne, where he remained a couple of days and departed as secretly as he arrived. He had an understudy, however, who interviewed some Germans and moved about in Cologne. In this whole maneuver the journalistic spirit seems to have dominated the judgment that this masterful character would be expected to show. It must be attributed to the excessive nervous strain in which he now finds himself.

June 19. The ex-Kaiser's "Memoirs" are reported to have been purchased by an American company, McClures, for $250,000, which will be devoted, according to the German press, to repairing war wounds, and according to the French press to strengthening monarchical principles. It is admitted that the unpopularity of the Hohenzollern family forbids any success for any of its members, and that therefore the Wittelbach family of Bavaria will be favored by the protagonists of a monarchy. In this connection a demonstration by the extreme Right is proposed for Berlin about the end of this month. The Left is aware of this *coup d'état*, for which it will probably furnish an antidote, and thus a continuation of the present Government, or at least a coalition Government, will continue for the present.

Oscar Crosby's stay with me is delightful by reason of our classmate friendship dating back to West Point days, as well as for the brilliancy of his conversation.

I noted, in passing the Lützel barracks, that the French have put up a sign, "Caserne Marceau," in accordance with their customs, but not with ours, nor is it in the interest of good relations thus to change names of barracks.

June 20. Jeffreys came in to say that he would like to have temporary accommodations for a few officers and men at Sinzig, where they want to water their stock coming

from Silesia, thus showing that the evacuation of that country has actually begun. From now on we shall continue to hear of troubles in that new Alsace-Lorraine creation. The arrival of Morgenthau, ex-Ambassador to Turkey, bent on studying questions connected with the occupation, makes with Crosby a fine pair of debaters. We had a number of persons in for tea, but after their departure the deck was cleared and with Stone and Davis the economic discussion of Germany continued until nearly eight o'clock. Crosby thinks that the State Department should make it clear under what conditions we are here and what are our holding relations to the Versailles Treaty, Armistice conditions, and the Berlin Treaty. It is evident that the State Department does not want to make any such decision, preferring to let matters run along as they have been, and trusting to me to make whatever local adjustments may be required. Perhaps this is best, for after all our position here is too delicate to permit much jostling.

June 22. My guests started off with Stone and Manton Davis for the Ruhr Basin, well equipped with credentials to assure them a favorable opportunity for studying conditions there.

The base hospital, given up too hurriedly to the French when it was thought the building of the attending surgeon would suffice for our reduced forces, has been taken back in part, but will be shared with the French. While it is too much for our present requirements, its division and occupation by two forces may not be satisfactory.

News of the assassination of Sir Henry Wilson in broad daylight in London reflects seriously on the violence of Irish feelings. It would seem that the methods of Dublin are being introduced into the British capital. I have wired condolences.

Roussellier came over to tell me that M. Poincaré is anxious as to the interview I gave the representatives of the American press in Berlin a week ago at the request of Ambassador Houghton. The Minister President has

reference to a *New York Times* article, which I have not seen, and to the request made by a Congressman, whose name Roussellier did not know, to the Secretary of War as to the accuracy of the report. In this interview I carefully weighed all my words with the intention that nothing be said that could possibly hurt the sensibilities of either Germany or France; and, moreover, Houghton, who heard me, confirmed the fact immediately after the interview by saying I had succeeded. In fact nothing was said by me that I would not have said to Poincaré or Rathenau or to both of them together. All this I told Roussellier with the request that it be repeated to Quai d'Orsay.

We are on the Rhine presumably because our presence is considered helpful to all the states concerned, and, if this be true, then our stay or departure should not be dependent on the desires of any single state. Were France convinced that she exercised the prerogative of determining our stay, it would mislead her into believing that my duty here is to approve her policies. Naturally, Rhine questions concern very directly all contiguous states, less directly all European countries, and consequently in a considerable degree the United States. Moreover, we are more interested in peace, trade, and restoration than we are in the exigencies that some given state, rightly or wrongly, may think essential for its own well-being. For the general welfare it seems most desirable that our stay here be continued for the present, but our restraining and constraining influence can have its just value only when our conduct, based on a square deal, is in accordance with well-studied American ideals and principles.

June 23. My guests returned from the Ruhr country much impressed with the magnitude of the industry there, and much pleased with what they had learned as to economic conditions. Morgenthau, as a Jew, and a Democrat not without political aspirations, wants information that may be useful to him in his coming lecture tours, and possibly in a new book. Crosby, an independent Democrat interested in the scientific study of social and economic

questions, is thinking of his political and economic talks and writings along the lines of the interviews he gave while in Berlin. Both seem to be satisfied with the information they have been collecting, and it is believed that both are sufficiently broad-minded and liberal to see clearly the difficulties of the directly interested Rhine countries in relation to the welfare of the others.

J. P. Morgan writes me that the committee did not get very far, but made some suggestions that may work advantageously on public opinion after a while. In the mean time he has left Paris for London, where, as he says, "I will be out of the way."

June 24. Much of to-day has been devoted with Harbord to talking over the Near-Eastern question with Morgenthau in relation to our possible visit there.

Hardly had I finished reading the following telegram: "On behalf of the British Army I beg to convey to General Allen my sincere thanks for sympathetic message which has been conveyed to the Government and Lady Wilson," when the *Amaroc* issued an extra telling of the assassination of Dr. Ernst Rathenau this morning while *en route* in automobile to the Foreign Office. The murderers did the shooting from a high-powered automobile and made their escape. This deed is probably connected with the dissatisfaction of the Right and may be an expression of the disorders threatened in Berlin. Shocked by the news, I at once wired my condolences to his family and the Government. Probably in his relations with foreign states, this minister was the superior of any man that could have been named. His large business capacity, taken with his logical understanding and frank expression of Germany's woes and requirements, make his death a distinct loss in the international discussions frequent in European restoration.

June 25. The letter of Poincaré sent to Mr. Herrick when informed by the latter that we were to remain on the Rhine has been published in Paris. Evidently our continuation means for French policy the sacrifice of a minor issue

for a major one. Poincaré's thanks are expressed with the conviction and in full recognition of the fact that I have opposed various Rhine measures that have been contrary to our views, and must continue to do so. On the other hand, our continuation represents in French eyes a solidarity of front to Germany that outweighs all other considerations.

Crosby, Harbord, and I motored to the principle race day of the year at Wiesbaden, where the attendance, including about a dozen French generals, was the largest thus far noted there. The greatest Inter-Allied races of the year were run, the steeplechase of 4800 metres with nineteen entries and the flat race of 2000 metres with twenty-six entries. We won the steeplechase with Potiphar ridden by Lieutenant Devine, but neither H. nor Dunn was placed in the flat race. The "Haut Commissaire de la République Française" gave a prize of 15,000 francs, and congratulated Lieutenant Devine on the winning, adding that all the French officers were glad to see an American officer win this prize.

We arrived back in time for dinner at the house, which included the Harbords, Scrivens, Colonel Ryan and his guest General Edgerton, the Bullards, Captain and Mrs. Beach of the Navy, the Carterons, and General Miller. The ladies were decidedly in the minority, but it is hardly possible to balance my dinner parties as to sex or even to arrange them as to congeniality of the guests, owing to the necessarily hurried way in which they are too often got up.

The news from Berlin does not indicate that the murder of Rathenau is being followed by any serious disturbances. The proclamation issued by Chancellor Wirth seems to have exercised a very wholesome influence.

One of our diplomats whom I recently met brings to mind the well-expressed thought of the philosopher-wit, "the unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth."

June 26. The funeral services of General Jacquot at Bonn, beginning at the house and ending at the railway

station, lasted from 10.30 to 1.30. Next to the family with Tirard and Degoutte, Ruoquoy and I were the chief mourners. On arrival at the house I was conducted past the casket in front of the family to a room where Degoutte was alone. A little later, Tirard arrived in the same manner. Then the German representatives of the University and the Landstadt were brought in and presented. When the body was carried out of the house, the late general's aide, whose wedding I attended in the same house in 1920, called out by title the order of precedence in the procession to the church. This march of about a mile was between two lines of soldiers throughout with an escort suitable to a corps commander. It embraced all arms including tanks and cyclists. At the church we were marched up to the altar itself, behind the scenes, as it were, where there was a manifest effort to make the services as ceremonious and imposing as possible. To me this effort robbed the occasion of much of its solemnity, and were I disposed or capable of writing humorously, the events themselves would greatly facilitate such a task. The difficulties of the clerical director with his unschooled cast, from incense boys to archbishop, were many. The large church was packed with officers and their families, and the streets and shops along which the procession passed were filled with Germans watching this unusual spectacle. From the church the body was borne to the railway station, and was placed on the sidewalk for another public military service. General Fournier, an old friend of the deceased, made the first eulogy in a farewell address and was followed by General Degoutte, who recounted in fine terms the record of the distinguished dead. Then, after reading the chief official telegrams of condolence that had been received, be bade an impassioned farewell in the name of the Minister of War, of the President of the Republic, and of all his comrades in arms in the Rhineland and in the Army. The entire escort then passed by in review, rendering final honors to the remains of their recent commander. The German representatives took formal leave of Tirard and

Degoutte before this *défile* took place. After saluting the remains, we passed to the family and shook hands in formal adieu, and thus ended a mortuary service almost as ceremonious as that connected with the funeral of the Czar Alexander III.

CHAPTER XVI

ON THE VERGE OF EUROPEAN CHAOS

German situation acute — The proper marking of American battle-fields in France — Frank Munsey urges cancellation of all war debts and reparations — Fourth-of-July celebrations — The French birth-rate — Echoes of my interview in Berlin — The mark continues to fall — Bastile Day — Ex-Secretary of War Garrison — German constitutional guarantees — General Degoutte makes numerous requests — Continued efforts of French to encroach upon American zone — France exasperates Germany — Harbord, "the American Ludendorff" — Failure of the London Conference — Marshal Pétain inspects French troops "incognito" — France's effort to control German state forests and coal mines — Moratorium provides temporary relief — We motor to the Black Forest — Heidelberg Schloss — Germany's jewelry center — Timber operations in the Black Forest — Arrested for exceeding the speed limit — German Government pauperized, while people and corporations flourish — Back in Coblenz.

June 27, 1922. Since the death of Rathenau, the struggle between the Right and Left in Germany is becoming very acute, and now a big strike is planned as a protest against his murder. The situation may soon strain governmental control. Even here in Coblenz a protest and parade were staged.

The death of Prince Albert of Monaco leaves the little principality to his son who is a French subject. What, therefore, is the status of this independent state and of its new ruler?

June 29. Bullard lunched with Crosby and myself here to-day. As President of the Inter-allied War Trade Board, Crosby had ample occasion for knowing much concerning the leading war figures; and as division, corps, and finally army commander, Bullard's opportunities for knowing something of the actual fighting conditions were good. Bullard had experience under Degoutte as one of his corps commanders and had a long conversation with Degoutte at his house two days ago, from both of which he thinks my estimate of him as a conservative Frenchman is wrong. Bullard succeeded Sibert in command of the 1st Division and says he (Bullard) was always apprehensive lest he be

unable through political or other reasons to hold his command. He thinks George Bell's great willingness to continue with the English and Sibert's with the French, while Pershing was trying to organize an independent American force, had not a little to do with the careers of these two officers. Pershing's unwillingness to put improperly trained men into the firing line and to continue the turning over of his troops to reinforce English and French units caused much dissatisfaction against Pershing in the fall and winter of 1917.

Tirard sent me word by Davis asking whether I would like to have a French band play for me, and if so where, on July 4th; also whether I would like to have a French regiment turned out for review on that day. Inasmuch as these French troops are under my command and as their disposition is not at all a matter of the High Commissioner, this message indicated something more than a desire to do honor to the American representative. It evidences a tendency dangerously close to eagerness to control in this zone. Davis was, therefore, directed to inform him that these troops are under my command; that it is desirable to give them as well as the American troops a complete holiday on that fête day, that all may compete in the duly arranged athletic programme.

Francesco Nitti's book has been translated into German under the title, "Das Friedlose Europa." In the preface he says, "Columbus left Europe to find a way to India and found America; President Wilson came from America to present peace to Europe and he created only disorder and intensified bitterness."

Captures made in Germany leave no doubt that Rathenau's murderers are affiliated with the Right, and the demonstrations staged throughout the Reich by the parties of the Left clearly indicate that as yet the reactionaries may not hope for a change of government.

June 30. Tirard's luncheon for the Harbords and Bullard left me too well fed for the polo contest; however, the Andrews team as well as mine won against the English teams.

Stone has again gone to Château-Thierry and Paris in connection with the construction of a 3d Division monument at the former place. At first that town was not at all disposed to furnish a suitable site, but it seems now to desire to help out as best it can. It would, indeed, be wise if our Government would take charge of the proper marking of the fighting sites of our troops in France, thus preventing the erection of such undignified little cement shafts with rusting iron placques embedded in them as was put up by the 5th Division.

Poincaré stated in the Senate that the failure of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles had thus far prevented France from assuming the Syrian mandate, but he thinks the League of Nations will soon adjust the matter favorably to France. He also stated that the Angora agreement is of only a provisional character, and that England claims it can become definite only with its adhesion. Curzon's expressed disgruntled attitude toward that treaty has evidently been effective. Morgenthau thought that this treaty was at the time necessary for France, due to her precarious military situation in Syria, and that that may account for France's failure to keep England abreast of what she was doing — an aggravating act in Curzon's eyes.

France's continued refusal to accept any diminution of the 132 billions reparation sum, and Germany's unwillingness or inability to put on such taxes as will permit a cessation in issuing paper money, have brought the mark down to 400. However, in the interpellation in the Senate, on June 30th, by Juvenal, Albert, and Hubert, the Minister-President and all admitted the absolute necessity for France to have considerable sums, if not all; and, instead of having them come from the French people, they should come from German loans underwritten by states that had come out of the war safe and rich. This is the very first time that the Government has thus publicly recognized Germany's inability to pay all, and, furthermore, Poincaré stated that sanctions would not give France the de-

sired sums. All this should mark the beginning of better days, for it seems to presage a willingness by France to listen to financial reason such as has been voiced by nearly every member of the Reparations Commission for some time and recently by the Bankers' Conference. It is possible, however, that there will be a reaction to this debate which will cause the Minister-President to return to his former utterances.

July 2. One of my officials brings me news from Paris. Tardieu has not attached much importance to retention of American representation on the Rhine, because we have no policy in Europe, and therefore our stay or departure would have little value; he thinks France's policy here should be very rough treatment to accelerate payment or very kindly to win over the hearts of the Rhinelanders; he thinks the service period should be a year instead of eighteen months which has just been voted.

Frank Munsey, who has just gone to Carlsbad, is to stop here on his way back, to confer with me. He feels resentful toward France for having jeeringly treated his proposal to have the *New York Herald* advocate the cancellation of all war debts including the reparations. He says the *Herald* will still stand for that proposition.

Mr. Herrick wanted me to know that he had visited Poincaré some time since to assure him that my policy here was directed toward maintaining an impartial attitude and that I am not pro-German. While that act is prompted by the best of intentions, it leaves in my mind the conviction that Mr. Herrick feels our stay or departure should largely accord with French wishes, and that is precisely an illusion that I am doing my best to eliminate. If we have any proper value here, we should stay regardless of the wishes of a single state, and that should be known to all.

July 3. At the polo tournament to-day against the English Hussars, my right hand was badly cut by a stick in the first period and I was later cut between the eyes. In carefully watching these games, it is evident the English are better in their stick work, and equally good in ponies

and in team work, but we are better in the energy and vigor of play. It is a question of nationality that springs from environment in which climatic conditions are probably dominant.

Harbord brought in a personal letter from Pershing this morning bearing on the possibilities of our going to Anatolia, but it contained nothing precise, because thus far the Turkish Government — either Angora or Constantinople — has not given consent. However, we made a tentative organization. We are collecting all available data bearing on that historically troubled region. Not reckoning with the smaller groups of states, Greece and Turkey are just now the most directly interested contenders, whilst France and England are for the moment the principal rivals for influence in Asia Minor. On the second plane among great states are Russia and Italy. Constantinople by virtue of its location is potentially about the most important city in the world, and its control must more than ever be the source of unending strife.

Senator Phelan is far more interested in the Pacific Coast-Japanese question than in European matters. He told the Japanese plainly that their people are not assimilable in the United States, and that we did not want them there for the same reason that Japan does not want Chinese. In our country they remain faithful to their fatherland, thus producing Japanese colonies. That would not be strictly true if they were given social recognition on a parity with European states.

July 4. All the Commission heads called this morning in turn in honor of our national independence, and all the army heads sent telegrams. Firecrackers have been heard all day long, and the participation by the *poilus* with our men in the various sports staged on the Clemens Platz was numerous and enthusiastic. The fireworks on Ehrenbreitstein were followed by a dance at the Club. Added to the noises of the day was the blasting connected with the demolition of the forts around Coblenz, which has been going on for several weeks.

Congressman Treadway, with several other thirty-third degree Masons, arrived here for the Conclave at Lausanne. The Lahneck Lodge was installed to-day in the castle of that name situated on the high ground at the junction of the Lahn and the Rhine, on the spot where the Knights Templar made their last stand in the fourteenth century. Mr. Treadway, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, is a Massachusetts man.

The mark to-day reached its lowest point, 450 to the dollar, but this fall must be due to a German maneuver from which I anticipate a decided reaction by the middle of July.

July 5. While I was lunching to-day, ex-Vice-President Marshall phoned to ask when and where he could call. With his wife and a few of the thirty-third degree Masons he had arrived here unheralded from Wiesbaden. He came with Mrs. Marshall and a banker from Chicago to my headquarters at 2.30 and explained how the party had broken up, that he did not want to trouble me further than to pay his respects, and that he had to return to Wiesbaden for the night. He has been talking with persons there who left him with the thought that there would be serious disturbances and riots on the Rhine should we leave; that the hatred of the French is intense; and that the maintenance of colored troops here is not unlike the policy of fostering negro rule in the South after our war. He spoke in very decided terms of the two branches of Masons in Europe, one of which is atheistic, and of the two in the United States, the North and South.

The recent political atrocity in Berlin and more recent threats are creating much pessimism in Germany.

Again the old question of having cabinet officers given the privilege of debate on the floor of both houses is agitated. This seems such a wise and useful measure that the jealousy of the legislative branch should no longer find supporters. Such a privilege would seem to be quite as much in the interest of the Congress as of the Executive.

July 6. The speeches of the principal speakers at the

Paris banquet on the Fourth and my telegram have appeared in the press. Poincaré's speech was, of course, aggressive, but exceptionally good.

Walter Berry produced his usual classic screed against Germany, and declared that "he who is not francophile is germanophile." There is nothing save the name to indicate that these meetings are connected with a Chamber of Commerce, but there is every indication that they are purely political and are essentially important in increasing hatred between France and Germany.

The official statistics which the French Minister of Labor has just published show that in 1921 the birth-rate and marriages were less than in 1920; that the excess of births over deaths was 159,790 in 1920, and last year, 117,023; that the marriages were respectively at the ratio of 213 to 318 for 10,000 inhabitants. This question is of greater importance to France than the German reparations and the balancing of her financial budget. Under the conditions of fecundity of her neighbors, notably Germany and Italy, by which France cannot well profit, her remote future must be dark. The balancing of her budget of population with a reasonable credit should take precedence over all other essential measures.

July 7. At the request of the Ambassadors' Council, the High Commission is assuming a new duty not included in the Rhineland Agreement: the confinement and trial of prisoners from the Upper Silesian plebiscite area in the occupied territory. This responsibility, like the control of the economic sanctions, has simply been wished on the Commission. The catastrophic fall of the mark to 550 to the dollar, whether or not Germany may be indulging in maneuvering it, indicates the seriousness of the financial condition in that country. Some of the leading Coblenz shops have closed their doors to prevent runs on their stocks and possibly to secure time to raise their prices to meet the changed unit value.

General Mordacq called to-day while out on an inspection of his troops, some of which are in this zone. He asked

permission to bring a battalion of engineers into Coblenz, but I told him the billeting conditions here are already too difficult. It will be no easy matter to prevent encroachments on our small preserve and to maintain wholly friendly relations with our French neighbors. However, they must know definitely that this zone is under American administration and our holding and stay must be dignified and worthy of our country. When it is learned that I am going to be unwavering in respect to these matters, I anticipate a campaign setting forth the undesirability of our continuance. I shall meet it squarely and leave the result to the decision of Washington.

July 8. The question of Bastile Day is now to the fore, and, since French troops throughout the occupied territory will be paraded on that day, I must have the two French regiments under my command — the third has not yet come in — turned out, and shall invite Tirard to the review. A fundamental difference between the French holding and ours consists in their efforts to have the population know that the troops are present. That smacks of former days, but does not accord with my principle of making the burden of occupation as light as possible. Were I a Frenchman, perhaps my thoughts of forgetting the past in thinking of the future would be smothered in hatred of the traditional enemy and fear of his coming prowess.

July 9. The perpetuation of the customs licenses of imports and exports continues without any indication that the French will permit its discontinuance as desired by the other representatives on the Commission. This indirectly affects our trade with Germany, for the greater the imports in the west by France, the less will be those by us in certain articles by the ports of Hamburg and Bremen. The Germans want Cologne selected as the seat of the Customs Control and this meets the approval of all except France, which would prefer some place in the French area. As a compromise, it is kept here in Coblenz and partly in Bad Ems.

The Filipino delegation in Washington is very persistent

in demanding independence for the Islands, basing their claim on past promises and the safety given them from foreign domination by the results of the Washington Conference last winter. After all, the matter must finally rest with Congress. It is clear that the interests of the Filipinos and of the United States must be jointly considered even were they capable of maintaining an independent state safe from foreign aggression.

July 10. Crosby has sent me his bread-and-butter letter in which he says: "Gratification for sentiment, for intellect, for the æsthetic, as for bodily comfort — all were most happily combined to make a delightful memory. Your situation is unique in many ways. Even if nothing startling should be written into the record, your stay at Coblenz will supply a picturesque and illuminating chapter of the history of America in Europe. Your legal situation offers the same charm that is found in any well-constructed Chinese puzzle.

The artist, Asen, brought the sketch he had made at his home in Bonn from the various photographs he made here of me and began the painting this morning. He is a Rhinelander who does not fail to express his dislike of Prussia.

Due to the unwillingness of the Soviet Government to restore private property, they will probably get no credits from the rest of the world, and in consequence the Hague Conference now in session will end fruitlessly. It was supposed that the Government would restore ninety per centum, and would indemnify the owners of the other ten. The German situation becomes graver as the mark continues to drop. Berlin agents, including Bergmann, have gone to Paris to ask a temporary cessation of reparations payments. France has become alarmed for the franc at 12.46 cents and dropping dangerously fast; I imagine some sort of a moratorium will be granted. It is well understood that German exporters are leaving the results of their sales abroad and that Germany is unable to prevent this practice.

July 12. Coal shortage is troubling us, and we have

again found it necessary to seize barges as they pass up the river, that we may have on hand a supply for use of the public utilities and the troops for fifteen days. Even the city water-supply depends upon coal to make the gas that drives the pumps on Carnival Island. The Germans claim that the Ruhr output is not behind its recent normal, but that the Allies' demand for coking coal has increased to a point which incommodes us in securing the kind of coal required here.

My interview in Berlin has caused both the State and War Departments to write me concerning it and I have made answer to them. It is the old story of reporters giving only a part of what was said.

Prince Hatzfeldt called this morning primarily to learn what would be done to improve the German crisis due to the catastrophic fall in the mark to 560 or lower. The entire financial world is interested, and France recognizes that something must be done to prevent the fall of her unit of value along with the mark. England is vigorously moving in the matter and all want the United States to participate actively. France is insistent on a general cancellation, with the contention that if the Allied debts are a political question in America, so is the reparation debt in France, and that the French voter will not agree to a cancellation of his claims until the American voter does the same. Germany is asking a moratorium for the fifty million gold mark payment of this month to include the end of 1924. Even the limited help in prospect has caused the mark to gain one hundred points in two days. Hatzfeldt is also much interested in the street troubles in Wiesbaden a few days since when the police fired into the disturbers and killed one or two and wounded several others. He says the entire body was only about one hundred and fifty and were extreme Communists, and that neither the Regierungspräsident Momm nor the police president was responsible for the shooting. The matter is before the Commission.

July 14. The inspection and review by me of parts of

three French regiments at 9.30 this morning will constitute a unique incident in our occupation. Every effort was used to make a good showing. Only at the luncheon afterward did I learn that the 151st Regiment which participated in the review to-day had come from Silesia, and it therefore constitutes a new element which evidently increases the French forces over the normal.

Lindley M. Garrison wires from Paris that he and Mrs. Garrison will be here on Monday with two friends. The differences and final break he had with President Wilson when Secretary of War presaged the difficulties the former would have in later days. I remember well how insistent the President was that Admiral Fletcher should command the troops occupying Vera Cruz, following the agreement that had just recently been reached between the Army and Navy Departments which gave the command of troops and sailors under such conditions to the senior military officer. In this case the officer was Funston. The Secretary went to the mat with the President, and won, but not until he made it known that otherwise another war head should be selected. That was one of the differences which preceded his resignation and the nomination of Baker.

July 15. I find that my interview in Berlin was taken by some paper in England as a defense of the French in the use of colored troops and has been translated into the *Deutsche Rundschau.* I am severely arraigned for this unwarranted act. In sending a copy to Billy Phillips I added a note: "Attacked on both flanks, my situation is hopeless."

Princess Radziwill and Leontine came up for lunch to-day, and, while we were taking our coffee, Miss Belle Armstrong called. She is from Millersburg, Kentucky, knew me when she was a little child, and my oldest brother was her guardian. With a party she is making a tour of Central Europe and came down the Rhine by boat. This little incident brings to mind a fact that, when I return to my native heath, nearly all my old friends will have disappeared through the inexorable laws of nature.

July 16. Nothing indicates the great depreciation in the value of the mark more than the circulation of Reichsbank notes of 10,000 marks. The pre-war value would have been $2500, whilst now they are worth about $20. The obstinate stand of the Russians against restoration of private property and recognition of debts to foreign nations has shattered hopes of success at The Hague for loans so strenuously demanded by the Soviet Government. From the beginning there has been much doubt of success, except on the part of the British Premier.

July 17. Ex-Secretary of War Garrison, Mrs. Garrison, and their friends Mr. and Mrs. Packus arrived to-day for lunch, then proceeded to Luxembourg. Garrison is brilliant, and as witty as ever, and our conversation over the days when he was presiding at the War Department was most agreeable. The parts of his annual reports written by himself, and his arguments favoring preparedness, were classic. When told of the settlement with the Luxembourg Government, when we cancelled our claims of eight million francs and had to pay Luxembourg four out of the five million francs of its claims, of Billy Phillips's participation and of my decoration instead of the latter, he asked whether the decoration was the "Golden Fleece."

July 18. Davis returned from Paris with an urgent message from Mr. Herrick asking me to accompany him to Washington for conference there, that he would request the necessary authority by cable to the two departments, and that he had reserved a place for me on the ship. I sent him the following:

Sincerest appreciation of your thoughts relative to importance of my getting in touch with Washington by traveling with the very most delightful and lovable company. I am in thorough accord with you and would gladly go a little later if you find on arrival the State Department shares our views. For a long time I have felt the need of personal consultation in Washington. There are a number of questions involved that affect us seriously, if not as directly as other nations. If you desire I will see you before your departure.

As a result of the Ambassadors' Conference, the economic sanctions continue in spite of the desire of all nations save one to have them completely lifted. These and the military sanctions are more potent in maintaining discord and hatred than any other measures enacted on the Rhine.

Mr. Garrison thinks that, if the United States were to make it known to the world that it is our purpose to stand solidly by France in securing her just reparations, France would consent to let our Government write the terms. He says that view is shared by many Frenchmen. That formula does not fully or correctly estimate French public opinion which has been so often assured of its full reparations, and the precarious situation that would face any French Government that at this time would approve such reductions as are necessary.

A contract has been duly signed with the German Government whereby Hamburg is made our base port through which all of our transport, whether of supplies or personnel, will be shipped. All expenses of shipment, whether from New York to Coblenz or *vice versa*, will be paid by Germany and credited on the cost of our forces. This is a most advantageous change from Antwerp in the direction of economy, though it does put our base port in the territory of the recent enemy.

July 19. *Le Journal* is staging a huge advertisement on the Rhine to which the French Government is lending important aid. It comprises an exhibition of motor boats, a section of the Comédie Française, and the band Garde Républicaine. The first stand was at Strasbourg, the second at Mainz, and the third to-day at Coblenz. The *hydroglisseurs*, boats driven by an air propeller at a rate of nearly fifty miles per hour, must have a useful purpose for fast service on smooth water.

Degoutte's arrival for an inspection of his troops in my zone coincides with this propaganda show. He asks permission to send here a general to head the French brigade and proposes General de Frantz. The French Government is not going to permit the Rhinelanders or the French

people to forget that France is holding the Rhine, and no little effort will be required by me to prevent the swamping of America's representation. Officers and officials were brought in from remote places for this celebration.

July 20. Hess and Robbins told me this morning of the situation in Germany as found by the Commission of Guaranty. The German Constitution guarantees every man the right to work, and in case there is no work it must provide for him and his family. All the railways are now owned by the Government, and a man once having secured work on them becomes an official practically for life. The present Government is carrying out big internal improvements, such as connecting up the canals, believing, too, that in this work the great power produced at the locks will largely support the expenditures. It is also proposing to convert coal into available energy at the mines on a large scale and thence distribute it. It collects taxes, such as the income, then turns about two thirds of them back to the separate states.

Without considering any reparations, the internal budget due to taxation would give a surplus of 7½ milliards. The external budget, however, amounts to 179 milliards, and even with the forced loan of 40 milliards, there would still be a general deficit of 131½ milliards. All this is based on the rate of 70 paper marks to one gold mark, whereas the rate should now be about 100. Under such conditions our representatives think the financial outlook in Germany is almost hopeless and that the mark must continue to depreciate. The Committee propose a much more drastic control of Germany's finances to the point where its members would be practically administrative officers of the Reich. Our representatives oppose that as an infringement on German sovereignty and as a measure that would limit her already too small capacity to borrow, though they did not participate in its discussion. France and Belgium believe the Reich will consent to this control in return for a moratorium of even only six months.

July 21. This is the Belgian National holiday, commem-

orating the date when Leopold I became an independent sovereign in 1839. As Rolin has gone to Aix, I sent the 8th Infantry band to serenade the Baroness in her garden where she had the principal members of the mission assembled. Harbord, Johnston, and I went over to offer our congratulations. A huge Belgian flag hung by the side of an American one on the front of my headquarters and the day has been a holiday, just as were the Fourth and Fourteenth.

At the session of the Commission yesterday, the French objected to a Bavarian decree anent requisitioning of food, because they said it was bitterly opposed by the farmers. Rolin and Kilmarnock found that Bavaria was acting wholly within its powers, and that the matter should not be controlled by the Commission. Junior French members were drawn in to explain, and one said that it was so obnoxious to all the farmers that General de Metz had seen fit to cancel it. That brought forth from both Tirard and Roussellier "Oh! no's," but unfortunately it was too late. During a very recent discussion Rolin made the statement that the High Commission is not bound by its ordinances, but may do what it pleases when it pleases, regardless of its enactments and without any formal changing of them. That a man of such intelligence and generally good judgment could take such a position is nearly incredible and shows little consideration for constitutional authority. On this contention he also was turned down.

July 22. On the way to the Godleys' with the Harrys and Jeffrys, I stopped in Bonn and called on General Henrys, the new commander of the 33d Corps, who formerly headed the French Army at and near Salonica. Later he also joined the Godley lunch party, where Lady Burton, whose father's fortune came from Bass's Ale, and her daughter, Lord Charles Bentinck, and the Kilmarnock family were present.

In conversation with the best-informed British officer at Cologne I learned that General Bridges would probably go to Berlin as Military Attaché, but Foch did not want

that to happen now because it would cause the sending of a German military attaché to Paris.

July 23. The *Concours Hippique* staged at Bonn to-day in the rain was sad for man and beast, and the long delays in carrying it out reflected seriously on the military efficiency of the promoters. The shelter provided was equally limited with the seating, while the spectators stood for five hours.

Marshal Fayolle with an air staff officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Armengaud, arrived at my headquarters, then came to the house. His mission is reported to be an inspection of air units. The lunch party was quite *intime* and we engaged in much badinage.

Since paper money has become almost valueless, Moscow is making loans based on grain. A loan of ten million pounds of grain, against which were issued bonds payable in grain, is reported to have been fully subscribed.

July 24. A cordial letter from Mr. Herrick bidding me farewell came this morning written the day before his departure for home on a leave of two months. He regrets my inability to accompany him, but appreciates my reasons for not wanting to go now. Perhaps his political aspirations in Ohio and the strenuousness of his past may prevent his return.

After an absence of nearly two years my former Chief of Staff Harts has arrived here on leave and is stopping with me. The drum and trumpet corps of the 156th French Regiment just across the river has been a great nuisance these last few days making "music" to-day over a period of four hours to the annoyance of every one on the Rheinanlagen.

July 25. Colonel Piazza, the senior French officer present here, asks permission to celebrate Château-Thierry Day by a mass on Clemens Platz, games at Carnival Island, and a dance at the Club, all of which was granted; he also wants to have a big torchlight procession with drums and trumpets the night before through the streets, and this was refused. There is evidently a studied policy

to put the French holding here in evidence as far as possible, and scarcely a day passes that there is not some indication of this policy.

July 26. At the session of the Commission this morning the question of the forests of the Rhineland was discussed, with the outward indication that it is a purely military matter, yet the proposed ordinance requires the names of all owners, the amount of ground, the number and kinds of all the trees — in a word, every detail that an economic census would demand. Tirard was wise enough to show much conciliation, for he soon saw that such a measure would not be acceptable in the American zone and hence could not be embodied in an ordinance. Hardly a session passes that we do not let pass some measure at variance with our views without protest — simply because of our anomalous status here.

Ogden Reid and his family, with two representatives of the *New York Tribune*, lunched with me to-day. It was a question between him and his wife, as to who made the greater number of intelligent inquiries about conditions connected with our occupation.

July 27. The Harrys went off on a two weeks' leave to attend the marriage of Andrée and to make a visit with the du Souzys before leaving for the States, putting Happy in my charge. The nurse places him daily on my bed, whilst I am having coffee, where he confirms the fitness of his sobriquet. I have begun the outlining of a history of the American Occupation that should see the light within the next two years, and should give a fair view of what has been done here by America and how it has been done.

General Boyer, commanding a brigade at Duren, in lunching here to-day, told of the magnitude of Thyssen's plant below Duisburg. Like most Frenchmen the sight of such works to him is an index of Germany's ability to pay.

July 28. The French press is strongly featuring the convention of the autonomous Rhinelanders which met at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 23d instant, where Smeets, President of the Rhine Republican Party, was reëlected. The

principal plank of the party is: "Rhineland freed from all servitude has the right to determine its destiny freely and it must fight for the slogan 'Rhineland for the Rhinelanders.'" The reëlected President Smeets, whose numerous trials by German courts were so often brought before the Commission, is declared by the Germans to be subsidized by the French. *Le Matin* states that the proposed new state shall be under the protection of the League of Nations.

The Italian crisis, the Bavarian crisis, Poincaré's attitude toward the reparations, and possibly Austria's increased financial despair have helped bring the mark to its lowest stage, 570. Hungary and Bulgaria are also in desperate financial straits, and the world is beginning to recognize that the provisions of the Versailles Treaty more than the war itself are responsible for the critical situation in Europe. Germany must get assistance from outside, and France must have money. Is France content to go without rather than see Germany on the road to restoration?

July 29. The best news received in a long time is the cable this morning ordering Harbord's return home, thus precluding any possiblity of our going to Anatolia.

In the *Matin* of July 28th, Senator Brangier advocates that the Reich be dismembered into the states composing it, to assure European peace; that, simultaneously with the reduction of the German debt, the German nation be split up into its constituent states. No one of authority has hitherto seen fit thus boldly to advocate this view in print. Such a move would leave little hope for genuine peace in Europe.

July 30. The recognition by the United States of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is a surprise which shows a wise recognition by our Government of the importance of our foreign trade, even though the Red influence may be strong in all of them. Albania is also recognized, and one might suspect that the days of small states are returning. The most recent note of the French Government stipulating that, unless the regular payments were made, reprisals

would be taken, drove the mark to below 600, but this is not approved by the French industrial and trade organizations which declare they will not coöperate in such a movement. This is hopeful.

July 31. A cable from Washington directs Harts to report to me for duty and he gets this news simultaneously with the arrival of his family from England. General Degoutte arrived in time for lunch. I felt sure he wanted certain measures carried out to which my consent could be given, and that it would be necessary to go to the mat with him, and before this took place it seemed to me very good for psychological reasons to make as much of a military showing as our diminished representation would permit. Accordingly I had Harbord, Harts, Johnston, and Stone for lunch. Degoutte and I sat for quite a while over our coffee on the veranda overlooking the Rhine, then went to the smoking-room, where we were alone. The first proposal was to meet our plan of defense under changed conditions by providing in time of mobilization a battalion supported by artillery and cavalry each for Diersdorf and Montabaur, to which I raised no special objection except to ask whence the troops were to come and to suggest that one of the battalions at Asterstein be permanently sent to Montabaur to diminish the number of French troops in Coblenz. I let him clearly understand that there are ordinarily too many troops in the streets of Coblenz, that the dignity of the American representation would suffer if such a condition continued, and that, in authorizing the headquarters of the three regiments in the suburbs of the city, I contemplated certain battalions being quartered out in the zone. That was a shock to him, but I know that this thought and all that goes with it must be deeply impressed now unless we are prepared to be simply the tail to the French kite even in the American zone. The next matter was to have my order changed so as to permit French troops in the American area to carry their bayonets when off duty as they do elsewhere on the Rhine. That he considered to be of the greatest importance, and the exception

made here vexed him a great deal, besides being a strong incentive to the soldiers secretly to carry revolvers, which are much more dangerous than bayonets. I stood fast on treating the French soldiers in this zone in quite the same manner as the Americans and could not therefore make the change he desired. We talked at length on this subject, but for no sound reasons can I believe that soldiers will be less aggressive or get along better with the population by being armed at all times. He then made a request to send a section of *gendarmerie* here to serve in conjunction with my police and that of the Germans. That had to be declined also, but with the understanding that I would call for the use of French N.C.O.'s on special days as we have already done. I told him frankly that it would be better to diminish the number of French representatives in evidence in Coblenz rather than increase them. Naturally all this is of a very delicate nature, especially when it is remembered that Degoutte is the Commander-in-Chief of the Inter-Allied Command on the Rhine. The next request was to send here twenty trucks for use in supply of the troops, but no Anamese are to be sent. The final matter was the question of a house for the proposed French commander, General de Frantz, who does not like the one suggested by Peek. We separated in the most amicable manner, and I am sure we have a better understanding than before of what must be done here to maintain this zone as American and at the same time make our representation comport with the dignity of the country.

August 1. In the session yesterday the earnest and impassioned talk of Tirard against Dr. Momm and the absolute importance of his dismissal from office, which is strongly desired by his Government and demanded by Generals Degoutte and Mordacq, ended by the acceptance of our compromise to have him transferred to another post. This is almost the first time that Kilmarnock has shown any serious resistance to Tirard and any worthy insistence upon his own views. A little later Tirard declared that Hatzfeldt is responsible for turning all the extreme

elements of the Rhineland against the French administration, and this declaration was countered by all of us to Tirard's discomfiture.

While I was having a conference with my civil and military staffs this morning concerning the results of yesterday's conversation with General Degoutte, Harbord came in and showed an even stronger attitude than mine relative to the maintenance of a highly dignified American status here and a strong resistance to the determined encroachments. Our experiences with the French have too often shown that a compromise is not a settlement, but merely the attainment of a first objective to be utilized later in securing the final objective.

August 2. Degoutte has sent a letter to the President of the High Commission asking to have a branch of the Reichsvermögensverwaltung established in the American zone to meet the requirements of the French troops, and in the same letter states that the French Minister of War, at his request, has created an annex of the Engineer's Office in Coblenz. The Commission has no jurisdiction whatever over such a matter in the American zone — a fact Degoutte knows full well; nor has he nor the French War Minister any authority to send troops into this zone without my consent. Here we see a flagrant effort of encroachment which will be met in a letter to Degoutte, a copy of which will be sent Tirard, and a statement will be made of my position before the Commission. It is essential in the interest of all concerned that our position should be established firmly in the early stage of this dual command of French troops in order to minimize the friction that would inevitably ensue. When I have finished with this communication under consideration, there should be definite knowledge at the Inter-Allied High Command and at the Commission of the fact that this zone remains American.

To-day General and Lady Godley, Lord Charles Bentinck, General Ellison, and others came up to witness two match games of polo, in which we won both games.

Evidently England's Premier has overplayed his hand in allowing France in her need of cash to writhe under the depreciation of her own unit along with the downfall of the mark. With the mark well below 800 and still dropping, Europe has become alarmed and the proposed conference in London has been set for August 7th. It now remains to be seen whether France will be more conciliatory toward German reparations, or whether she will persist in her present policy, which is producing chaos in that country. Many Germans have decided that it is best under present conditions to let the financial crash continue rather than fight against conditions which they declare impracticable of execution.

August 3. Balfour, temporarily replacing Curzon, has sent a circular note to all countries owing England, saying in effect that the cancellation of debts cannot be solely carried out between the countries of Europe; but that the United States must be included, thus putting us, the only nation which is solely creditor, in the category of the others. That is the latest from Lloyd George and may be changed at the coming conference in the trading with France.

When Hatzfeldt appeared before the Commission this morning in connection with the dismissal or removal of Dr. Momm to another post, Tirard profited by his position to speak to Hatzfeldt in a most unnecessarily despotic manner, saying to him four times that an answer must be received within eight days, whereas no such limit had been fixed by the Commission. It is difficult for any fair-minded individual to fail to see that France's policy is demanding such acts of her agents as will inevitably cause Germany in the end to seek revenge, and that much earlier than would otherwise happen.

August 4. After polo yesterday, I visited Jeannette in the hospital, then went out to Hutchinson's hunting-lodge in the middle of a forest for supper. For the first time I heard the call of a doe — oft repeated and loud enough to be heard a mile or more. It is said this call is heard only for about ten days in August.

The threatened break of Bavaria from the Reich has been avoided and Count Lerchenfeld's letter to Wirth settles that question which appeared so hopeful to the French. This settlement, the understanding that France's proposed new sanctions will bear only on private German property in Alsace-Lorraine and the occupied territory, and the assurance of the Conference on August 7th, have exercised a beneficial effect on the German financial crisis.

A letter from Miss Mais, nurse to Josephine, in the Austrian Tyrol, shows that their hotel rooms cost 3900 kronen per day, but she gets about 4300 kronen for a dollar. This greater depreciation in that already debased unit is connected with the German crisis.

August 5. In reference to my letter to Degoutte refusing him permission to establish a branch of the Reichsvermögensverwaltung in this zone, quick action resulted. Yesterday at the Commission a member of the French delegation fully voiced the sentiments of my communication.

Hatzfeldt came to my headquarters this morning for a talk with Harbord, who he said had been described to him as the American Ludendorff. After their talk, Harbord left, and the German Commissioner remained to learn something about the possibility of "retorsions" of Poincaré, to be applied if Germany's answer, "due within fifteen minutes," at noon to-day, is not satisfactory. Where would they be applied and what would they involve beyond German individual holdings in Alsace Lorraine? Could they be applied in the British and Belgian zones? He assumed they could not be in the American. Would the United States never make its strength and prestige felt in Europe in the interest of a reasonable policy that would lead to a moral and physical restoration?

August 6. The Godleys, General and Mrs. Cooper, Lady Campbell, and Sir Charles Bentinck came from Cologne and General Henrys from Bonn for lunch and the races afterwards. Mr. Beecher, a nephew of Henry Ward Beecher, at present a guest of General Henrys, called to

get information on the black troops, concerning which he proposes writing an article for the *Saturday Evening Post*. His declaration that he is the most pro-French American in Europe leaves little doubt of the character of the communication he will write.

Le Petit Parisien claims that a petition asking for the trial of German war criminals has been presented to the French Government which says the German courts are not effective; that French courts must try them in default, and that failure to deliver these criminals means that the time set for evacuation has not begun to run.

August 7. To-day another conference opens in London, but owing to French public opinion France's Minister-President will be unable to make such concessions as he knows are demanded by the present critical European situation without losing his political head, and therefore much good may not be expected.

O'Laughlin arrives here to-day from Berlin with Mrs. Davis, daughter-in-law of Senator Davis, and her son. O'Laughlin claims that public opinion in the United States and his own have undergone a radical change toward France by reason of her militant attitude and that he is rather pro-German than pro-French. Undoubtedly our traditional friend is alienating her trans-Atlantic sympathy by her dominating attitude in Europe, her failure to reduce her land forces, and above all her unwillingness to accept reasonable compromises on reparations.

August 8. The further the dictation of my journal goes, the more am I persuaded that it cannot be given publicity as long as my duties continue at the Commission. Expurgation carried far enough to save the sensibilities of individuals and states takes away what seems to me to be the real merit of a journal. I have therefore decided to continue with it up to the end of June of this year as originally intended, but to inform the publishers that it must not be given publicity until my duties end here.

The French made it known yesterday that the little English detachment, Kilmarnock's guard, carry bayonets

when off duty, showing that the bayonet question is still disagreeable. The British found no objection in conforming to our orders, nor had their carrying them been noticed.

In the Momm affair, the French have done everything possible to make a case against him, hoping to gain the good-will of the elements involved in the police matter. They failed as to both, yet they insist on his dismissal or immediate removal as a political matter.

August 9. Within an hour's time three matters came up that caused me pain. The first is an unsigned memorandum from the Ambassadors' Conference and bears on the effort to have the committee with the High Commission organized for the purpose of making an investigation into its costs. It says: "The institution of a commission of inquiry would have a great effect from the political point of view in the Rhineland and would be dangerous to public order and the safety of the armies." Were this statement not a genuine official paper, its proper place would be in a burlesque stage production. Such an inquiry would not create a political ripple, nor would the army or German people ever know that it was taking place.

The second matter involves Tirard's further talk to Hatzfeldt, when in speaking for the Commission he gave instructions well beyond the views of the Commission in saying that a limit of eight days had been fixed for Dr. Momm's removal.

The third matter came from my good friend Degoutte, and bears on the definite agreement we made about one week ago wherein I consented to permit him to send here for use of the French troops twenty trucks and not to exceed thirty men. In a written communication he asks when he may send in sixty trucks and one hundred and ten men. At the risk of being refused, as he will be, he continues his policy of increasing French prestige in our zone.

In London the Conference is going badly, and as a result both mark and franc are dropping. Conditional on a moratorium Poincaré is demanding "productive guaranties" which would largely eliminate German sovereignty and

which the rest of the world must fail to approve unless it be willing to see European civilization threatened in the ensuing chaos: control of the Reichsbank; control of German exports; tax on Ruhr coal production; establishment of customs barrier east of Rhenish Territory, except for Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort; control of receipts from mines and forests; participation in industrial plants; share in the railway earnings, and participation in the postal, telegraph, and telephone lines. At dinner with the Lambottes where, save myself, only Belgians and French were present, it was clear that they anticipate strong French action in the near future. To me pressure from the United States is the only influence that might change French policy, and it may be that measured action now would prevent serious discomforts for us later. Unfortunately public opinion, the approaching elections, and the strike, forbid President Harding doing what seems to be of the greatest benefit to the world just now.

August 10. Various persons from the United States have called to-day, including two important German-born citizens, one from St. Louis and one from San Antonio, who have been studying economic conditions in the country of their birth. Both express sincere apprehension lest the continued fall of the mark put prices of food and living in general so high that hunger will follow and Bolshevism in turn become a menace. I had family lunch with Kilmarnock and his parents, the Earl and Countess of Errol, both of whom are sturdy types of their country. In comparing this family and the two German-born Americans just mentioned, and the average American with the average Frenchman, one cannot fail to note the contrast between the Latin and the Teuton. If the mental processes could be carefully scrutinized, corresponding racial contrast would probably be found.

Madame du Souzy and Viscount Charpin came to tea. The Viscount is far less vindictive toward the Germans than most Frenchmen, although both his sons were killed during the war.

August 11. Perhaps masses of people in the world are satisfied to see Germany's plight and her increased inability to compete in foreign markets with the output of her factories; but this whole policy is fraught with the greatest danger — it is playing with fire.

We have been drawing up a memorandum both in civil and military affairs for Harbord that it may serve as an *aide mémoire* in presenting some of our needs in Washington, for he is leaving to-morrow. I have come to the conclusion that before many months pass it would be well to have a conference in Washington with the heads of the two departments. Before going, the return of Mr. Hughes from South America must be awaited and the result of the November elections should be known.

August 12. The stalemate at the London Conference continues, and one of the most unacceptable demands of France bears on a proposed ordinance that the French have been trying to have the Commission pass for many weeks — a forest census of the Rhineland. The contention here has been that the census is intended solely for military purposes, but by its very terms it denied the integrity of its sponsors; the contention at London is that France must exercise control over the forests and mines of the Rhineland. My opposition to such an ordinance as a military necessity has continued to defeat it thus far.

The latest expression of their policy comes from the Controlleur-Général of the army, Boone, who follows up closely the Reichsvermögensverwaltung incident with a request in person to have a small bureau of military administration established here to facilitate the supply and requisitions required by the French troops. I know him well, for he is always on hand at conferences in Paris and elsewhere, bearing on the costs of the armies. His arguments are backed up with an intimate knowledge of the subject of supply and his case is always well presented, albeit too much *in extenso*. I called in both Harts and Stone to hear him, as well as to hear my remarks concerning the impossibility of permitting further encroachments in our zone. He was

told that requisitions on the Germans must be kept in my hands; that the present methods have not brought forth any complaints as far as known by the French troops under my command; that my Government is properly sensitive with regard to the American status of this zone; and that that fact must not be ignored in making such requests as must necessarily be refused. He was also informed that if his request were put in writing it would receive careful consideration and an early reply. He expressed full appreciation of my position as set forth, and recognized the value from our point of view of maintaining the zone in its present aspect. To prevent the swarming of French soldiers in the center of Coblenz, it will be necessary to deny them the privilege of the Fest Halle, and therefore Mr. Sprenger of the Y will incorporate in his coming budget an amount sufficient for only our 1200 command. This is done with much regret, but it is essential. The fact that regiments of different divisions have been sent to this area is also confirmatory of a policy looking to an increased military contingent here.

August 13. Apparently the London Conference will end in a compromise, drastic for Germany, but not nearly in accord with the original demands of France with which the other countries were unwilling to conform. The compromise looks to holding by the Reparations Commission of the various governmental receipts as pledges without taking over the sources that produce them, such as the mines of the Ruhr and the forests of the Rhineland. Under these conditions and a moratorium it is believed an international loan may be finally made for Germany.

In reply to a special invitation from the Director of the Bad Ems Kurhaus some of us went there this afternoon to a charity bazaar. Nothing in a long time has appealed to me as more pathetic than this effort to raise money for the poor of this small town. Although it was in the big Kurhaus, the various booths and the costumed participation showed clearly the shortage of funds available for the organization of the enterprise.

August 14. Such differences have arisen in London as to cause the conference to admit failure and adjourn. Again France has successfully stood out against all others, showing the necessity of attaching greater value to majority rule, regardless of the greater requirements and rights of a single state. The moratorium question must therefore be left to the Reparations Commission, which in its turn will probably be largely guided by the views of the French delegates. France is willing to cede a very short moratorium and this only under the protection of "productive guarantees," whilst England and Belgium desire it to the end of 1923 and Italy to the end of 1924. In the meantime, under the retorsions practiced in Alsace, between five hundred and one thousand Germans are already under orders of expulsion. The German press expresses itself in infuriated terms at this procedure, which it claims is visited on individuals because of the Government's inability to pay.

Lord Northcliffe, perhaps the greatest newspaper magnate, has passed away. His full recognition of the value of harmony between his country and ours and the importance to the world of Anglo-Saxon coöperation has been a marked feature of the policy of all his journals and will remain a monument to him. His last days were in physical restraint due to homicidal tendencies.

August 15. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 13th, under the heading, "The French Poison-Mixers on the Rhine," prints in full, in English, Pershing's letter to the President under date of May 22, 1919, evidently from a photograph:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have just received a message from the Commanding General of the Army of Occupation to the following effect:

"This morning, General Mangin, Commanding General of the French Army at Mayence, sent a Colonel of his Staff to General Liggett's headquarters at Coblentz to inquire what our attitude would be toward a political revolution on the west bank of the Rhine for the establishment of an Independent Rhineland

Republic, free from Germany. He inquired what the American attitude would be toward such new Republic. The Staff Officer stated that they had fifty deputies ready to send into the American sector to assist in starting the revolution. The meaning of the word deputies in this connection is not clearly understood, but it was made clear that they were to be French."

General Liggett very properly declined to consider the proposition, and his action has been approved by me. I have given him instructions not to permit the entry of political agitators into our sector, no matter by whose orders they might claim to be operating. Faithfully yours

JOHN J. PERSHING

Though Mangin's efforts in this direction were so brusque and aggressive as to cause his relief, yet France has never failed to profit by every available sign of disaffection of the Rhinelanders, whether they belong to the Right or Left, to encourage the Separatist movement.

The failure at London has brought about a drop of two hundred points in the mark to 1000 since yesterday, and financial despair seems to have taken possession of Germany. The French section here thinks France must act alone unless Belgium will assist her and that nothing less will satisfy public opinion. They have hope that they may count upon Belgium on the Reparations Commission in the matter of the moratorium and the sanctions, but that in any event France must now get enough from Germany to make good her budgetary deficit of two billion francs. Poincaré has called Tirard and Degoutte to Paris for conference.

August 16. The arrangement made by my G–4 with the German Government for transportation via Hamburg or Bremen to and from New York of all our personnel and supplies has been signed and is such that in the future that Government pays all and credits the sums on payment of our army costs. This is not only extremely advantageous to us, but it makes a large saving to Germany over our transport system for which she was paying on paper. However, this ignores a fundamental military principle of putting a base in the occupied country beyond control.

French soldiers have been growing somewhat riotous recently and apparently their officers are becoming indifferent to this conduct. I therefore directed Harts to call up the commanding officer and inform him that, if he could not control his men, it would be necessary to secure a new commander, and that it might also be necessary to put the central part of the city off limits for French soldiers. The first part of this caution made a deep impression on him. They must know that our command is not nominal.

August 18. The Prussian Government could not see fit to change Dr. Momm to another post under pressure from the Commission, and he was permanently relieved of his functions. Having been "martyrized," his Government will soon find another post for him. Hatzfeldt came over this morning to talk over various matters, but the thought uppermost in his mind was to ascertain if possible what are France's intentions and what is the attitude of the United States. He recalled the fact that his continuous pessimism has been vindicated by present conditions in Germany with the mark close to 1200.

August 19. While awaiting something definite from the Reparations Commission, Dr. Wirth has made an appeal to the world through press correspondents in Berlin against the French policy. He vigorously denies statements made by Poincaré that Germany is responsible for the debasement of the mark, that Germany has made a loan to Czecho-Slovakia, and claims that the civilization of Europe is in peril in the present policy. The retorsions in Alsace are being answered by reprisals in Karlsruhe where visés are refused to French desiring to travel in Germany; it is also reported that German banks are refusing to honor checks on Alsatian banks. The failure of thirteen political conferences to bring about any satisfactory solution of European troubles has caused certain elements of both France and Germany to demand direct dealings by financial representatives of the two countries.

It is interesting to hear Grasty speak of Northcliffe as the King of Kings and not as the King of Journalism.

Northcliffe's funeral ceremonies would have been on a grander scale had his attacks on the present Government, especially its head, been less bitter. With his departure, I suppose Hearst, Munsey, and Ochs must be about the largest journalistic publishers.

H. S. Bache, of New York, brings me a letter of introduction from Houghton at Berlin and gives a gloomy picture of conditions in Germany, for which he has a cure-plan. If his financial plan cannot be put into effect, then President Harding with the English must compel France to listen to reason to prevent European chaos that will extend to us. Another solution!

August 22. The situation in Germany is critical, and it is still difficult to understand how the policy of France can be modified except through our attitude. It is, indeed, a question whether any French Government can make such concessions to Germany as financial reason dictates, and survive, unless the Government is able to appease French public opinion by letting it know that pressure from outside has made concessions necessary. This has happened before, notably when Mr. Hughes, about May 1, 1920, let M. Briand understand in writing that the occupation of the Ruhr could not be approved by us. While the United States does not want to participate directly in European affairs and it is quite possible for interior reasons that now is a bad time to take any action, I cannot help feeling that some pressure by us at this moment would have far-reaching influence on future developments. If France secures the coal of the Ruhr, she will be able with it, with that of the Saar Basin, and with that of Silesia controlled through Poland, to exercise an excessive influence on Europe, possibly putting all the Continental states in a way under tribute to her. She talks of productive guarantees which experts have failed to find productive in the declared sense, and now it is a question of the control of the forests and mines. France knows that this control would produce under her agencies insufficient revenue, but she knows it would further cripple Germany and give France almost

unlimited power on the Continent. The control of the forests does not impress me with the same apprehension, except as to principle, as does that of the coal, for the simple reason that there are fine forests all over Europe, but fine coal on the Continent would then be almost solely in France's hands.

Has our participation in bringing about the defeat of the Central Powers given us no right to express our views concerning the resultant peace and our trade interests involved therein? Or do the several years intervening since the Armistice create a new European situation independent of the great struggle, and should we now, therefore, maintain our pre-war attitude toward Europe? That would be a most comfortable view for us were we not concerned in the chaos threatened in Central Europe this winter amongst a hungry and cold population. The results of such a condition would seriously affect all Europe and consequently us.

August 23. The Earl of Cavan, Chief of Staff, with his deputy, Chetwode, and Godley, came down for lunch with Kilmarnock, and I therefore had opportunity for talk with them: Foch is wholly unwilling to let them have back Bonn, and that matter is probably settled; England opposes in principle any independent action by France, but would not do more than express that thought; she is most apprehensive with respect to France's great aerial power. Cavan is surprised to learn that Pétain is also just now on the Rhine, arriving at Bonn to-morrow, but they will probably not see each other. Kilmarnock gave me additional information, received from Curzon, to the effect that England would deprecate any independent action by the French and Belgians, that any prohibition of requisitions in the British zone would be of no practical value, that it cannot be assumed that the Inter-allied Commander-in-Chief has no right of requisition, and that therefore it would be undesirable to make any protest at the present stage. That definitely settles England's attitude.

Poincaré at Bar-le-Duc on Monday made one of his

most aggressive, unconciliatory speeches, directed almost as much against England as Germany.

August 24. We motored up through the rain to lunch with the stewards of the racing association at the course just prior to the running. The Earl of Cavan, Lord Chetwode, and of course Sir Alexander Godley, were there. This gave me further opportunity to talk with the first-named, who went whole-heartedly into the racing, studying the entries on the programme with General Hutchinson during the lunch. As critical as the European situation is, he has "not seen a newspaper for three days," and, as he had not read Poincaré's speech at Triaucourt, he did not know what it contained, but he hoped it would clear up the situation. He is a fine fellow, a fine sportsman, and a good soldier; and in these days of specialists why should the Imperial Chief of Staff of the Army occupy himself with Continental politics or policies? He says, however, that "Foch will not let them go into the Ruhr," which, let it be hoped, is true. After the war Cavan preferred to hunt his hounds, but owing to the big command given him during the war and some promise exacted at the time that he should remain in the service, he had to forego the pleasure of his hunt. Chetwode, who figured so prominently in Mesopotamia during the war, is decidedly more impressed with the Near-Eastern situation than he is with whether or not France occupies the Ruhr, but he is interested and appreciates the danger threatening Europe.

Marshal Pétain with Degoutte arrived at Cologne and they are dining with Godley, after which Generals Cavan and Chetwode start back for London. Kilmarnock remained for this dinner, whereat the external manifestations of Allied friendship will not comport with the political tension between Downing Street and Quai d'Orsay.

August 25. Even more sensational than Poincaré's speech, but connected with it, was the drop of the mark to 2000 to the dollar — a possible indication that Poincaré has burned his bridges. Bradbury and Mauclerc, who went to Berlin to make some arrangement whereby "posi-

tive guarantees" satisfactory to France and on which an exterior loan might be made, are meeting with little success, chiefly because of the divergence of views held by their respective countries. The European situation is daily becoming more critical. John Bassett Moore, of the International Court at The Hague, passing through Coblenz *en route* to Switzerland with his family, lunched with me. He recalls the analogy between now, when England is the restraining force for France, and 1648, when it was Spain. It is to be hoped that the Treaty of Versailles be not like that of Westphalia "which was followed by three hundred years of war," although the present map of Europe and the terms of the treaty bespeak untold strife.

Another case of high-handed procedure in the Palatinate has come to my knowledge from the wife of an unfortunate man who was seized and thrown into prison. He is an American of German parentage, but at my direct request he was released pending further investigation. The most vexatious part of the question was the unwillingness of the local military authorities to give any information about the case.

Marshal Pétain is inspecting at various places in the French zone, as my liaison officer says, "incognito." It is quite probable that he may therefore not inspect the French troops under me. It must be provoking to the big military bonnets to have their plans for military dominancy thwarted in the American zone. As insistent as they are at present their action is not comparable to that of August, 1919, when they were determined to share Coblenz with us.

The franc is being depressed with the mark, which dropped at one time to 2500.

August 26. Marshal Pétain and Madame la Maréchale with General Degoutte arrived here at three o'clock, stopping only about ten or twelve minutes. With Harts and Stone I met him and conversed during this short period about various matters, but not about the French troops in this zone. It is uncertain whether he would have desired

GENERAL ALLEN AND M. TIRARD

MARSHAL PÉTAIN AND M. TIRARD

to be entertained by me, but it seemed best that no invitation should be extended on this "incognito" journey. Degoutte left the train here and proceeded directly to Bad Ems where his wife is taking a cure. Hardly had he arrived there when he sent in an invitation for me to lunch with them to-morrow. It is probably better that a little time elapse in the present *impasse*, that they become accustomed to my stand before too close association be resumed. Their conduct in relation to this zone has not been more commendable than their demands at Washington last winter. If they have lost sympathy of the A.F. in G. in any degree, it is solely their own fault.

On the strength of the French budgetary showing, I have had my modicum of francs with Morgan, Harjes & Company changed into dollars at the rate of 13.18 francs. Unless France changes her attitude toward Germany, this big central European country will go from bad to worse, and France itself will suffer increased financial depression in consequence. Austria is unsuccessfully seeking financial aid anywhere and everywhere, and the latest report indicates an economic union with Italy in which England and France are in accord. Italy has assured the Allies that it will preserve and respect the *status quo* in central Europe and the union will be economic only. The Austrian Premier had already informed Europe that unless something be done for his country the Government could no longer be responsible for the maintenance of law and order.

August 27. Before leaving my house, Count Liedekerke, Acting Belgian High Commissioner, came to apologize for the arrest and detention of Andy in Antwerp on descending from the train. A Belgian shared his compartment and claimed he lost a note of one thousand francs. Even after establishing his identity, which was not questioned, and, after turning his pockets inside out, Andy was held until the American Consul arrived.

August 28. Much interest has been aroused by the suggestion of ex-Governor Cox, now in Europe, that Hoover be appointed as American representative to the Repara-

tions Commission to break the deadlock now existing. It is understood that Germany has intimated its readiness to be investigated by an American and to submit to American control acting under the Reparations Commission. Perhaps neither the English nor French would agree to that, certainly not the latter.

The widow of Wagner, the daughter of Liszt, is dying in Berlin in her eighty-third year.

My chief of staff was asked by the German press to verify a silly report that the United States is about to increase its forces in this zone.

I am spending much time in going over my diary again in its preparation for publication, and am cutting out much of it which appears too circumstantial and detailed as well as too critical of individuals. The conviction has become stronger that it cannot be published so long as my present duties continue and I must therefore inform the publishers.

August 29. With the depreciation of the mark, the prices of food and garments are increasing in such a degree that the collapse becomes more imminent. The occupied territory is full of foreigners bent on getting bargains before the increased prices overtake the depreciated currency. Sir John Bradbury claims that Germany can pay something if given a respite, but that the demands of France carried out according to Poincaré will further diminish the power to pay and in consequence the reparations will be insignificant. Bergmann, Hermes, and Stinnes have gone to Paris to continue the conversations. With the tremendous quantity of paper marks that have been turned out by the Government press, complaint is made that there is actually a physical shortage, and this is specially true of large bills. The Government has not given out any new bills since August 11th.

It has been noted that America has made a deep imprint on Europe by the introduction of chewing gum, *chile con carne*, and draw poker.

August 30. The English want to know what policy we shall pursue in respect to this zone in case the French pro-

pose sanctions or requisitions. Not having any instructions bearing on this subject, and because of its importance, I have not yet decided what is best to be done; but, since the French probably know my views, they may never make an issue in this zone.

August 31. The Belgian delegates finally broke with the French, and the Reparations Commission decided upon a moratorium both as to money payments and in kind until the end of the present year, and presumably France will accept this. Under this temporary relief, the present German Government can live only from day to day; the relief is too late to stave off hunger and cold during the coming winter. The debased currency has put the price of most articles beyond the reach of many, especially of the salaried and middle classes, while the resources of industrial life are largely exhausted and the capital assets insufficient to maintain the present working capacity. Germany would have years of political and economic travail ahead of her, even were there no Allied pressure further to cripple her. A letter from Houghton to-day confirms his statements to me several months ago in Berlin: France's financial situation is such that without early aid she, too, must be in serious straits; that this aid can come only from a German international loan; and that France must recognize such an accomplishment as possible only by radical reduction of reparations. Therefore he thinks another meeting of the Bankers' Committee must take place soon whereat the adjustment of the reparations and Allied debts will be agreed to by France.

September 2. The American Relief Association (Hoover) has decided to give up its wire connecting Paris and Coblenz, thus leaving us without a single wire outlet. This matter has been up before with a resultant compromise whereby the French use it for telegraphing and we for telephoning. As we control all of it lying in this zone, it is possible we may still be able to continue a compromise favorable to us; or we must make our radio service satisfy present demands.

September 3. The rain has put the track in such condition that the races must be postponed until to-morrow — Labor Day. The Prince Christians of Hesse-Cassel (she was Elisabeth Rogers), Basil Miles, and the Littauers have been with us for lunch or dinner or both. Prince Christian broke away from Germany when the ruthless submarine campaign began, probably due to the influence of his American wife.

September 4. We left Coblenz this morning *en route* to Titti See, Black Forest, passing by Wiesbaden and stopping at Frankfurt for lunch with J. L. Harriman, who had motored over from Bad Homburg. We remained in the city until 5 P.M. doing the sights and looking at various articles in the shops which seemed two or three times as dear as at Coblenz. For example, men's white washable leather gloves are held at two thousand marks and everything except wine seemed to be equally dear. We then motored down to this old university town of Heidelberg, passing through Bensheim and Weinheim, arriving about dark, and are now installed in the Viktoria Hotel in very small rooms. The best hotel, Europaischer Hof, had not reserved us rooms for some reason and had none available when we came in.

The Belgians are again victims of German hatred in their zone. This time a sentinel and a sergeant were killed by unknown persons, and, besides the arrest of the mayor and chief of police, circulation has been forbidden by the High Commission between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M.

It must be admitted that in driving through the beautiful valley, along the foothills of the Black Forest, there is little to indicate suffering of the people unless it be the single cow drawing the pole wagon. Since the Kaiser's maneuvers in 1898, I have not been in this part of Germany and did not remember that considerable tobacco and some corn are grown here. The people speak with an accent quite unlike that farther north, and the slowness with which they make way for automobiles indicates the small number of these machines in this section.

September 5. On leaving our hotel this morning we visited the enormous, picturesque Heidelberg Schloss, most of which is a ruin and whither artists continue to go for sketches. The garden, the architecture, the site, the history, all combine to give it almost first place amongst the castles of Central Europe. We then proceeded south through Bruchsal, a former capital of Baden, to Duslach, where we turned off for Pforzheim in which "every house is engaged in the manufacture of jewelry." Here we looked at the shops, made a few purchases, and had our lunch at the Sautter Hotel. This large town or city in the lower stretches of the Black Forest is the mecca of jewelers from all parts of the world. We reached the main north-and-south road again, at Etlingen; thence on through Rastall, Achern, Offenburg, near and a little to the southeast of Strasbourg, to Freiburg, whence we left the main road for the mountains. We are now at the Hotel Schwarzwald on the Titti See, where we find Jeannette just taken with the mumps. The beautiful road up the gorge from Freiburg, though steep enough to demand cogs for the railway, is well graded and offers no inconvenience for good automobiles. The surroundings are most attractive, and this little resort is popular both in summer and winter when skiing is the principal amusement.

September 6. We have passed a most restful day given up chiefly to short walks around this picturesque country in a temperature cold enough for early November — and no heat in the rooms. I have been reading Judge Bausman's "Let France Explain," which, though decidedly anti-French, contains many valuable truths that should be in the possession of every American who desires to know many facts that Entente propaganda wisely concealed. No nation can exert the maximum of its strength unless convinced of the justice of its cause, and therefore measures and events favorable to the enemy were not only not given publicity, but were carefully kept from public knowledge. It is quite probable that many Americans even now would scorn to read this book which in its historical way

convicts our traditional friends of militarism and ingratitude.

September 7. The principal product of the Black Forest is timber, and the size and length of some of the trees or masts hauled along these mountain roads are as remarkable as their straightness. The draft animals are horses and oxen, oftentimes forming mixed teams attached to wagons whose wheels are thirty to forty feet apart. The motor trucks are less frequent for this timber hauling, but, as the roads are kept in such excellent condition, their numbers will increase. We made a tour to-day of a few hours, going through many villages including Villigen, where the McGruders and Talbots are staying; to Triberg — the town of the waterfall — where there is a permanent exhibition of Black Forest products; to Neustadt; thence back to Titti See. We passed various factories, large and small, where clocks are manufactured, from the dark carved wooden cuckoo ones of all sizes to the thousand-day one with its horizontally rotating pendulum. Toys, little carved wooden boxes, and pottery are important exports and are to be seen in nearly all the ten-cent stores of the world. The Schramberg pottery merits much consideration, whether it be a question of the pieces with the bold conventional flower designs in brilliant colors or those in the varying tones of yellow and dark brown with landscapes of the country showing chalets and forests. This latter variety resembles in a striking manner the Rookwood pottery produced in Cincinnati.

September 8. We were stopped, on entering and on leaving Freiburg, by police officials, who scrutinized our passports without being able to read them. From that nice old town, greatly grown since I first saw it, we followed the main highway to Offenburg for lunch, thence on to Baden-Baden simply to look at the nice villas, good Kurhaus, and fine Hotel Stephanie; thence to Schloss Hotel at Carlsruhe, where we had tea and then went out to see the shops and the Thiergarten and Stadtgarten. The temporary soldier barracks are used in many places in the city to help

out in the Wohnungsnot. The shops seem to be filled. There were no signs as in Pforzheim on some of the windows, saying nothing will be sold to "Ausländer."

At last the Greeks are asking the Allies to arrange an armistice for them with the Turks, who have driven them back to within sixty miles of Smyrna, with chances of still further defeat. That means that England's desires to have the little Hellenic state serve to hold back the Ottomans has been a failure, and under this condition the Sèvres Treaty must undergo many changes.

September 9. Before leaving Carlsruhe we had to go to the police station on account of some irregularity in Jeannette's passport, and after wasting at least three quarters of an hour were informed that, had it been known that we "belonged to the Commission," there would have been no reason to go there. Then on leaving Heidelberg the police arrested us for exceeding speed limits and conducted us to the Bezirksamt in spite of my diplomatic passport. There the director apologized for the imprudence of a young official, but this incident cost us about an hour, so we decided to lunch at the Europaischer Hotel before starting north again. Our return followed the roads of our outward journey and brought us to the Frankfurterhof about 3 P.M., where we were met by Andy. He brought mail and papers requiring my signature. I have decided to stay out a couple of days longer and see Bad Nauheim, and Cassel. Although the weather is exceptionally cold and rainy, the roads and travel are good. We find this city larger and more prosperous in appearance than could have been believed. The new buildings going up all over the country we have visited indicate prosperity, and confirms that, though the Government is pauperized, the people and corporations are for the most part in a flourishing condition. Naturally, with the mark at 1270 and the prices soaring, there will be hunger and cold in many localities, and unless there be an improvement in the purchasing power of the mark there will be serious disturbances this winter.

An official declares in a letter that he thinks that, should

France go into the Ruhr, it would be advisable for us to quit the Rhine without any exchange of letters, thus letting France know in unequivocal terms that her policy is disapproved. That would probably please the military authorities, but would hurt the Central Government deeply. The principal objection to it is that in so doing we consider chiefly France, leaving aside the welfare of Germany and our holding associates. It now seems that France has seen the handwriting on the wall, and for the moment has again given up the idea of seizing the Ruhr.

September 10. Returning, we visited the resort, Wildungen, one of the most pleasing of the smaller summer places I have seen in Germany. The hotels are specially attractive, and the one where we lunched, Fürstenhof, served a delicious Sunday *Mittagessen*. We stopped long enough in Marburg to visit the Schloss and public buildings on the mount. Germany, having had in its days so many ruling heads over small states, is possessed of many historic towns with imposing ancient buildings, thus giving the entire country a background of which it is justly proud.

In looking over back numbers of my newspapers, the event that stands out most strongly is the decisive defeat of the Greeks in Asia Minor presaging their entire withdrawal from Asia. Their dreams of a few weeks ago, of taking Constantinople, were shattered by the refusal of English and French troops to let them pass, and now their vision of a Greater Greece has been dimmed, if not destroyed.

September 12. Yesterday from Bad Nauheim we motored over to Bad Homburg, where we passed the night at Ritter Park Hotel, which, like all these resorts, shows far less activity with the approaching autumnal weather. To-day we have come on into Coblenz via Limburg and Montabaur. The Smeets case is again on the agenda, and both Tirard and Rolin are deeply interested in giving him the protection of the Commission, thus making that body a party to the principle of an independent Rhine State. I cannot support any such policy, which is in contravention of the Rhineland Agreement, and violates the integ-

rity of the German courts. Rolin has become more insistent as to this subject than Tirard, but both are doing their utmost either to squelch the various sentences against Smeets, now amounting to eight months, or to continue to have them put off. Tirard objects to my former statement of disagreement, with reasons assigned, appearing in the record whenever any new Smeets case appears; but in the interest of justice it should be there. The question of having our time made to conform to that of the French has come up again, and now the British Commissioner has orders from his Government to fight it and wants me to make a decided stand against it, even to saying the change would not be permitted in the American zone. While opposing the change because it is injurious to commerce, disagreeable to the people, and is not essential to military ends, I cannot comply with his request, but will limit my action to such a statement. Foch claims that this measure is necessary for military reasons, but the practice in our country with our several different times disclaims that. This measure also bears on the separatist question. Two years ago I supported the then British Commissioner on this same subject, and, just when he had practically won his case, he surrendered.

Houghton writes that he will come here shortly, and wants me to have Fletcher on that occasion. He feels that Fletcher wants the troops withdrawn, and consequently our representation, on the Rhine.

September 13. Part of the Congressional delegation, consisting of five Senators and five Representatives, which has been attending the International Parliamentary Conference in Vienna, arrived here to-day. They are Senators Spencer, Carraway, and Ladd, and Representatives Temple and Pindell, with two others in the party. They report that in the various capitals, strong effort has been made to impress the views of the country on them, and at the Conference it was boldly hinted that America should begin the cancellation of debts. Mr. Temple said that any Congress that would vote such a measure would be voted out and

that the succeeding one would undo such an act. I should say that this party is an average Congressional representation which is learning much of European affairs that may serve well in the coming months.

The French press shows its exultation over the English loss of prestige in the decided Turkish victory, and the *Daily Chronicle* in turn says that France may aid Turkey in its military operations, but that she cannot do this and maintain the Entente; that she must choose the friendship of Great Britain or of military, aggressive Turkey. This victory strengthens France on the Continent beyond a doubt, and may cause her to be even more aggressive toward Germany than she has been. In a very recent speech at Tours, Senator Besnald emphasized the necessity of establishing an independent Rhenish state in order to allow France to reduce (*sic*) its military budget.

CHAPTER XVII

TURKEY AT WAR

Turkey victorious and Smyrna in flames — The League of Nations in session in Geneva — Ambassador Houghton optimistic concerning proposed measures for Germany's restoration — Britain's foreign policy severely defeated — Admiral Long sails for Turkey with fleet of twelve American destroyers — McKenna's notable appeal to American bankers — The ex-Kaiser states causes of the World War — Kemal's strength becomes formidable — Christianity *versus* Moslemism — Poincaré and Curzon in furious debate — Hugo Stinnes's secret mission in Paris — High cost of living inflicts terrible strain on German population — The flight of German capital to foreign countries — Lloyd George resigns — The diplomatic conference in Berlin — Chancellor Wirth's pessimism — Loitering in Bavaria.

September 14, 1922. The Turkish victory has upset all plans connected with the Sèvres Treaty and the various agreements concerning the Near East. Italy, France, and England are in a way agreed to holding a hinterland to Constantinople and to the freedom of the Straits; but in the mean time Smyrna has been put in flames by Kemalist adherents, and the Grecian Government is in a panic. And yet there are people who pretend to believe that the days of war are ended. Belgium insists that Germany must deposit one hundred millions of its billion gold reserve in a Brussels bank as security for the two Treasury bonds each of fifty millions, thus showing under present conditions that the World War is not yet ended. We have also discovered that France continues to bring troops very quietly into the Rhineland to be paid for by impoverished Germany, following out her evident designs of losing no possible chance of weakening her traditional enemy.

If one might judge by the great number of children possessed here by French officers and non-commissioned officers, it could never be suspected that France has a decreasing population. With less than two and a half regiments in and around Coblenz, they want school facilities for more than one hundred and sixty children, whilst our own total requirements are for only fourteen. Tirard posi-

tively declines to have any committee or other agency investigate the expenses of the High Commission, because he claims that he alone is responsible to his Government for the French Section of the High Commission. The other Commissioners would consent to such an investigation as was asked by the army costs conference. In this position Tirard has been upheld by the French representative on the Ambassadors' Council.

September 15. This summer and autumn have been as remarkable for rain and overcast sky as the corresponding time last year for its dryness. The crops are well above the average, though their harvesting is made under difficulties between rains.

At the present session of the League of Nations sitting in Geneva, the disarmament question is under consideration with the understanding that there must first be a guaranty pact between the states before a reduction can begin. This would then serve as a sort of defensive alliance. The stumbling-block will be found to be France, whose present determined policy will not permit a proper disarmament.

For the first time I visited the two antiquary shops in Coblenz and found a few articles of historic interest, which were purchased. Financial distress is causing people in the Central European states to dispose of many objects, precious to their families, to secure food, and these objects find places in the old shops. In Clemenceau's proposed voyage to the United States, he proposes to tell his American friends how France has been calumniated by persons who claim she is imperialistic and militaristic.

September 16. It is too soon to know how far-reaching may be the victory of the Turks, who now say that they must have Thrace as far as the Maritza River; that all capitulations, whether political, military, or economic, must be abolished; and that they must have Constantinople even if they fight England for it. The virility of the Turk is again asserted and his continuance in Europe seems assured with greatly increased prestige for Moslemism.

Le Matin quotes an editorial from the *New York Tribune* in praise of French policy: "Above all M. Poincaré's note offers a striking contrast to that of Lord Balfour which is said to have ruined the Conference of London and prevented an agreement when an agreement was possible. Mr. Lloyd George then had the opportunity of leading Europe back to a healthy condition; it is now Poincaré who takes the lead and France who guides Europe."

September 17. The Kemalist victories have driven the reparations difficulties from the first page of the dailies. Roumania and Jugo-Slavia demand to have a voice in the discussion of the Straits settlement, and Russia has already stated she will not abide by any decision that may now be reached. On one hand we hear that Turkey must be given Constantinople and a large part of Thrace, both of which are approved by General Townshend; and on the other, that the big Powers directly interested will not permit Turkey either to hold Constantinople or to cross troops to the European side. England finds herself in a very difficult position due to her Greek Zionist and Arabian policies, but worse still due to the threatening attitude of Islam.

September 18. General Degoutte came to my house this afternoon in accordance with request this morning to discuss the bringing in of the Third Battalion of the 151st Regiment, additional billets for officers, and the sending here of a general to command the French contingent. It was necessary to tell him that no more French troops could be put into Coblenz; that the billets given had not been properly utilized, since those that had been used by our senior field officers had been turned over to French captains; and that I would give him an early answer regarding the French general. I endeavored to impress upon him that the dignity of our holding was not conserved by an excess of French in Coblenz, and that the proximity of French troops made it really not absolutely necessary to have any troops but our own in this zone. We talked for an hour or more, he largely from a purely military viewpoint which I understood, and I from a politico-diplomatic

standpoint which he recognized. I will give him an answer to all in the morning which will permit him to put the battalion at Andernach and to send in the general, with the understanding that under no circumstances can the command of this zone, or of the troops in it, fall to any one not designated by me or other competent American authority.

September 22. Yesterday three matters were on the agenda about which it was not possible to agree with the Commission: change of time in the Rhineland to Paris time; the ever-recurring Smeet case; and the seizure by the military police of the archives of the Regierungsamt at Wiesbaden. The British agree with us on these matters, and while Ryan is in charge will fight them. As to the first, I shall ask that the following be put in the record: "From a military viewpoint, the change of time in the occupied territories would be convenient, but is not essential; and the military convenience resulting therefrom would not justify the inconvenience to the civilian population which would result from such a change."

With respect to the second, the essence of my previous non-agreement with the Commission will be incorporated in the record as follows: "In my opinion the High Commission cannot properly interfere with the execution of the sentence pronounced upon Josef Smeets by the German courts; the ordinances relied upon by Herr Smeets in his appeals are not applicable; and no ordinance justified the Commission granting Smeets any protection in the cases under consideration."

In the third case, I am contending that German executive and administrative offices are part of the governmental machinery of this territory, whose continuance is guaranteed by the Rhineland Agreement; that to give the police authority to seize the archives under military direction would be to destroy the civil government. If such seizures are to be made, they should be with the full knowledge of the High Commission and under its direction.

At the Cologne horse-show yesterday, the jumps were

unusually stiff. The doughty Britishers felt that such obstacles gave them their best chance of winning, but in the championship we won second and third places, the French first and fourth; and in the team jumping, we won first and the French second place. I chaffed Godley for not permitting us to enter chargers, suggesting that he feared my two chargers. He did not seem to be nearly so much perturbed over the Near-Eastern situation as I am, nor did he seem to appreciate at its proper value the loss of English prestige by Lloyd George's unsuccessful backing of the Greeks. From my viewpoint this is almost serious enough to put the country in mourning.

With Harts, Hendricks, and Dunn, I attended the final day of French maneuvers near Euskirchen, where General Degoutte gave a banquet-lunch in his dining-car sidetracked there. As was supposed, the object of this maneuver by the 4th Cavalry Division of General Hennocque, which represented an enemy, and crossed the Rhine from the east at Bonn, was to show that the insufficiency of lateral communications on the west bank is such that there should be more troops of occupation between Cologne and Coblenz rather than less. One may prove anything desired by suitably staging the maneuver as was done to-day. Tirard was out for the maneuver and lunch, and had with him Parmentier, who has recently returned from Washington in connection with France's debt to us. Perhaps Parmentier is an important financial expert, but he admits his journey was fruitless. In meeting my French associates on occasions such as to-day, we rarely mention subjects connected with the American zone, about which we are totally in disagreement and concerning which the decision is in my hands, but confine our conversation to more agreeable subjects. To-day Tirard, Degoutte, and I had a love feast culminating at the lunch. Godley arrived too late to see anything of the maneuvers, but in ample time for lunch.

On returning to Coblenz I find that Ambassador Houghton's daughters, installed at the Coblenzerhof, are

dining with us, and also a telegram from the Ambassador saying he will arrive to-morrow.

September 23. Ambassador Houghton arrived at ten this morning and we have had rather continuous talk throughout the day. His optimism regarding the German financial tangle and France's relation to it is most agreeable as it is most rare. Within a few months the Volkspartei will be incorporated in the Government; the Nationalpartei will be less antagonistic; and the Socialist Left, less the Communistic elements, will be amalgamated and work in greater harmony with the Center. There will thus be a far stronger Government than has thus far existed. The big industrial *rapprochement* between Germany and France will be felt in an ever-increasing manner, bringing about an arrangement whereby the devasted regions will be restored, not only by German material, but also German labor, whereby French steel will be exchanged for German coal, and reparations in kind will be greatly increased under reciprocally favorable conditions. A great personality assured Houghton that for all this, France is willing to make enormous concessions: withdrawal of troops from the Rhine, release of the Saar Basin, and a great reduction in the total reparations. *Mirabile dictu*, he says Poincaré has practically consented to all this. After this great industrial understanding has been agreed upon with France, something similar will be proposed for England. At this stage, or even without this last mentioned understanding, America must render aid of a financial character, but until then not a cent should she give toward stabilizing the mark or helping increase its value. In spite of the apparently fantastic character of these measures, Houghton attaches great importance to them.

There are so many reasons against the success of such a move that it is hardly possible to believe in it. Poincaré could not approve it and continue in power; England would oppose such a Continental steel-coal combine, with the commercial supremacy that would follow; and the United States would hardly lend money to further such a

trust, of which Stinnes would be the principal director, if not the manager. German political and industrial magnates, it would seem, have the greatest confidence in being able to dominate France by their politico-industrial power, and likewise believe that Germany will not only survive her present financial depression, but that there will be only a few minor disturbances throughout the winter.

Houghton is still full of his assembly of our Central European diplomats at Berlin, authorized before he left Washington. This is proposed for October when Castle, of the State Department, arrives. At the dinner for Houghton and his daughters, Tirard and Parmentier were present. Evidently these two know little or nothing about the big German plan, but they are not just now thinking about any advance into the Ruhr. They seem to think Poincaré's hold is loosening and that possibly his successor will be Viviani, rather than Briand, as Houghton thinks. They also think that the Allies' best chance of getting money from Germany will be the administration of customs, both for exports and imports, and they believe this will be done. Since the War, Parliament is largely composed of men not skilled in big politics and it must therefore continue to elect a leader from among the old experts. Parmentier, who admires the highly intelligent versatility of Tardieu, says he has assumed in such a marked degree the rôle of schoolmaster toward Parliament that he is much disliked there.

Early in the morning I sent a telegram to Fletcher saying both of us would like very much to see him here and that Mr. Houghton would wait over another day if he could come over. Fletcher replied that it was impossible to leave and invited us over there. Neither of us is abreast of Fletcher's views and attitude toward the Rhine holding and the Franco-German relations.

September 24. Another maneuver of the French forces was staged to-day, when General Jacquemot's division of the 33d Corps crossed the Rhine above Bonn, near the small town of Wesseling. The crossing was effected over a

period of two days and nights in small river steamers and on pontoon rafts towed by these little craft. On returning to Coblenz, we passed through one of the heaviest rainfalls I have ever seen in Europe.

The three Ministers of Foreign Affairs sitting in Paris, Poincaré, Curzon, and Sforza, have sent a note to Kemal conceding nearly all he requests and asking that he be present at an early conference at some point in Italy. In the mean time Franklin-Bouillon and General Pellé are active in trying to keep the Kemalists from carrying out certain threats and thus clashing with the English forces still holding on alone at and near Chanak on the Asiatic side. It seems simply a question now of the Entente not yielding under direct military pressure by the Turkish Nationalists. In backing the Greeks against the Turks, England has suffered one of the severest defeats in her foreign policy in many years; and serious though it may be for French prestige in Syria, the Paris press shows a certain satisfaction with the results.

The French are mourning the defeat of their boxing idol, Carpentier, by a Senegalese negro, Siki, and some partisans of the former maintain that the cinema shows it was due to a foul.

September 26. Various telegrams that appear in both the German and French press confirm in part the industrial movement of which Mr. Houghton spoke; but the magnitude of the enterprise is only hinted at. In the mean time there seems to be a desire to consider the whole affair as a movement by corporations or individuals rather than by Governments. The approaching relief of Laurent at Berlin seems to be connected with the matter, and the published fusion of the Majority and Independent Socialists into one party, the United Socialist Party, confirms another element in Mr. Houghton's remarkable résumé of activities in Germany.

September 27. A letter from Phillips says the deep conviction that our troops should be withdrawn is so persistent that it is better to direct its execution to a favorable

moment rather than endeavor to change it. Ryan had a small dinner last night for Mr. Lambson, of the British Foreign Office, who is making an inspection of Continental diplomatic posts. Apparently the views of Downing Street are quite in accord with ours, and he agreed with me that the representatives here should have their views made of record when there are differences on questions of importance. Thus far the British have done that in only one case. Under present conditions Tirard, supported by Rolin, passes whatever he pleases, but if Kilmarnock will make a fight and insist on the record showing his divergent views, as Lambson thinks proper, there will be less of the steam-roller. Perhaps my criticism to him of his representation here was a little drastic, but it was made in Ryan's presence. Fundamental, however, for the British is the maintenance of the Entente and of course a proper estimate of how far the Near-East question will permit a firmer stand here.

September 28. After seeing the well-staged maneuver by the 8th Infantry, we drove to Schloss Schaumburg, a superb building reconstructed in English style, but with the old walls still there to give it a specially picturesque setting. This Schloss is situated on the summit of a high mount on the Lahn, and is inhabited by Prince Waldeck-Piedmont. The large Gasthaus which formerly domiciled the retainers of the Schloss, furnishes meals to sight-seers.

September 30. The session of the League of Nations has ended without much accomplishment in the domain of disarmament. France was the recalcitrant member. At the end Jouvenal was bolder, in "*le fier langage de la France,*" in advocating the unwisdom of disarmament without guaranties and in showing the close relations between disarmament and reparations. Naturally the critical Near-East situation served well to permit a moral to his story. He declared his country has expended eighty-four milliards for reparations and has not received a sou from Germany; and yet the same journal that records his remarks announces in a dispatch from Munich that the

Bavarian railway administration has purchased from the French administration of the Saar mines 500,000 tons of Saar coal at seventy-four francs per ton. It is a great misfortune for the good name of France that such examples of fine pleading are heard from prominent French officials. France's delegation is still opposed to having Germany become a member of the League, and therefore this step, which would go far toward a moral peace, cannot be taken. In the mean time France is showing her peaceful intentions by informing the world that she will reduce her army in 1923 to 670,000 men when the eighteen months' service period is established.

The dispatches indicate that we are to begin getting payment in dyes for the back costs of our army of occupation at the rate of a few million a year. As this sum amounts to approximately $260,000,000, the end is not in sight. At Germany's request the Allies consented to this equitable measure.

October 2. After several months of political and economic tension in Central Europe there is a lull. The settlement between Germany and Belgium, and the provisional decision of France not to impose any more material sanctions, are important elements in bringing about this easement. Constantinople and the Straits are the center of political activity just now, as the military representatives are about to meet at Mudania. The Kemalist troops which were encircling General Harington's forces at Chanak, have withdrawn slightly, but Mustapha Kemal thus far will not consent to the proposed general conference unless the Greeks evacuate Eastern and Western Thrace, and unless it be understood that Constantinople shall revert to the Turks. The press is carrying a story that Andy Long has started for the Straits with twelve destroyers to assist England because she has been so scrupulous in discharging her war debts to the United States. As a token of the appreciation of the honesty and thrift of the British, the political bond of unity between the two countries is to be strengthened by a common Near-East policy.

Nitti, in his "Peaceless Europe," gives us full credit for ending the war and is still hopeful we may be equally effective in accomplishing peace: "The United States was the decisive element of the war. It entered the war late, but it was for that reason that it became the factor by which the victory was decided. I cherish the hope that the same will be true of peace. Heavy is the responsibility of the American people. When President Wilson spoke, European democrats believed that America as a whole was speaking."

Grasty has returned with his wife and proposes to remain a number of weeks, during which time he will send another series of articles to the *New York Times*. He experiences difficulty in reconciling what he finds on the Rhine with what he must write for one of the most pro-French of our large daily journals.

October 3. A very interesting question has arisen in regard to claims by Germans, incident to the occupation, wherein there is a conflict between the 105th Article of War and Ordinance 59 of the Commission published in this zone as my order. In following the latter we are carrying out a more equitable policy by leaving the determination of amounts to a committee consisting of five: two officers selected by me, two German members, and a fifth member by the Commission. Under the Article of War, all claims would be fixed by a board of military officers, and this plan conforms to the opinion of the Judge-Advocate-General of the Army. In this matter, however, policy as well as legality must be considered. The same question presented itself at G.H.Q. when the opinion of the Judge-Advocate was subordinated to policy. The Rhineland Agreement compels Germany to abide by the decision of the Commission Board, and, since all these claims are paid by the Government of the occupied country, we incur no financial loss. Furthermore, Article 105 did not contemplate an occupation with Associated Powers such as exists on the Rhine, even though we do not admit any control over this zone or its troops by any associate agency. Good briefs were made

on both sides of the question this morning by my legal adviser at the Commission and by my judge-advocate. As a result I have decided that claims for personal injury by soldiers incident to the occupation shall be passed upon by a purely military board in accordance with Articles of War No. 105 and all other claims by a mixed board. This question brings up far-reaching thoughts bearing on the basic authority of our continuance on the Rhineland, especially since our peace treaty with Germany about one year ago.

In spite of the many billions of paper marks issued by the Reichsbank, it was not possible to get one hundred dollars changed into that currency at any of the banks in Coblenz yesterday. The only considerable quantity of marks in the city was held by the Deutsche Bank at the disposition of my finance officer in accordance with the usual understanding with the Reichsvermögensverwaltung. To relieve the shortage of marks, the Reichsbank is to issue daily for a while eight billion new notes, and therefore further cheapen this unit. Notes of 10,000 marks are quite as frequent now as were those of 1000 two years ago.

The Rolins gave a dinner party to-night for General and Mrs. Flébus, at which Ryan and myself were the only foreigners. General Flébus, next to his king the largest Belgian I have seen, is now serving as second in command in the Belgian Rhine Army and will succeed General Ruoquoy when the latter retires for age.

October 4. Grasty and "Colonel" Adler, of the *New York Times*, were talking of the policy of their daily in respect to the League of Nations and France. They both seem to think that, rather than continue to approve most of the elements of the present aggressive French policy, it would be wiser to change the *Times's* future pronouncements to the importance of peace restoration and trade. They think Mr. Ochs will visit me at Coblenz some time during November to learn what they flatteringly denominate the American viewpoint, which they say is independent of and different from that of our embassies at Paris and Berlin.

The mark reached its lowest point yesterday, 2100 to

the dollar; and, worst of all, there is no indication that it will stop there. In spite of the billions of paper marks that have been issued in Germany, the banks of this city yesterday had not sufficient to change for bills as small as five dollars.

October 6. In the Inter-Allied shooting competition at Cologne to-day with the machine gun and with the rifle at snap, rapid, and slow fire, the following results were obtained: American team, 510 points; English, 400; French, 303; Belgian, 148. This winning is all the more decisive, since it includes every event.

Ryan indicated to-night that, through confidential dispatches, our Government had become more actively interested in the Near-East crisis and that it is less sympathetic toward France's policies than formerly. Perhaps this information, quickly circulated among English chancelleries, was caused by some conversation these latter days between the British Ambassador and our Secretary of State. If all the churches of the land appeal to the President, he must hearken to their pleas, even to the point of giving Admiral Bristol, our unofficial High Commissioner at Constantinople, and Admiral Long, who will have twelve destroyers in addition to his flagship *Utah* or *Pittsburg*, some instructions beyond that of simply observing. From a recent letter received from Washington, it appears possible that the President, in order to appease certain political elements, will order our complete departure from the Rhine before the November elections. At such moments as the present, interior considerations easily take precedence over exterior ones.

The speech of McKenna, formerly British Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the Bankers' Conference in New York, has created great interest in the German press and appears to me as one of the most rational utterances within recent times in the European financial muddle. The basis of his thesis is that the question of international debts and reparations must be settled economically rather than politically; that Germany, having very little cash, can pay only

in proportion to her exports over imports, and that at the present time this excess is small because other countries cannot buy German manufactured products without great injury to their own factories. A small sum can be paid from foreign holdings, but a moratorium on reparations should be declared for three years. In this connection, it is hinted that the United States would directly assist in the financial restoration of Europe on three conditions: (1) a considerable reduction of expenditures for military purposes; (2) reduction of German reparations by at least sixty per cent; (3) abolition of all imperialist aspirations which lead to war. Yet no intention of our cancellation of war debts was suggested, and there lies the stumbling-block.

The Mudania meeting, which seemed to be proceeding well, has been suspended and Curzon has returned to Paris for consultation with Poincaré. It is reported that Kemal Pasha has threatened to attack the Allies unless all his demands are granted. From the tenor of Turkish propaganda and the views expressed by Franklin-Bouillon, who is in close touch with Kemal, it is believed that the new demands are political and therefore beyond the scope of the military conference.

Owing to an old Act of Congress, it develops that all our "supplies" must be shipped in American bottoms, and in consequence, in profiting by our agreement with Germany, we must use only certain ships sailing from Bremen and Hamburg. It is possible the President will "not even permit us to ship personnel by foreign ships."

October 8. From good source much interesting matter concerning the present Near-East imbroglio is reported that may never reach the light in the brusque form in which it was related to me. The conversations between Poincaré and Curzon these latter days must have been more hectic than was that between Lloyd George and Briand at the Crillon last August. The English feel that France is playing one game at Paris and an entirely different one at Constantinople and Smyrna; that the Kemalists are now

threatening to expose France's proposals and agreements with them unless she supports more strongly the Angora demands; that Franklin-Bouillon is a busy-body who is endeavoring to cover his own tracks and that he should not have appeared at the Mudania military conference; that Russia is backing the Kemalists with her century-old desire of possession of Constantinople; and that the Turks who are assuming a menacing attitude do not want to fight the British. The Turks are apprised of Russia's dubious support and likewise of their present opportunity to profit by the great tension between England and France. England is getting much satisfaction from the sympathetic attitude of Washington and from the various supporting telegrams to Lloyd George from influential Christian societies in the United States. Under these conditions it is said France is squirming in spite of the grim pleasure it gets at knowing England's peace is put in jeopardy and her prestige with Moslems possibly greatly injured. This whole matter may prove a boomerang for France and may eventually strengthen Lloyd George after his unfortunate, too strong backing of Greece.

October 9. Dr. Gustav Stresemann, "Mitglied der deutschen Nationalversammlung," and President of the Volkspartei, called on me at the house by appointment, and brought me abreast of Germany's interior and exterior political and economic relations, of the proposed participation of his party more actively in the present Government, of his relations with Stinnes, and above all the latter's presence in France in connection with the transactions now proposed between certain big industrial groups of both countries for the purpose of restoring devastated France. He confirmed much of what Houghton had told me, but evidently with less optimism as to the results than Stinnes had shown to Houghton. However, Stinnes will see Poincaré in person, and will make the execution of his plan dependent upon a great reduction of troops in the Rhineland and a radical amelioration of the treaty terms in respect to the Saar Basin, as well as the designation of a

much smaller sum of a definite amount for reparations. Stresemann spoke quite thoughtfully of Poincaré's political difficulties, of the changed sentiment of America toward France's impracticable demands, and of the great tension existing between France and England, which he thinks is almost at the breaking point. Like many other Germans he sees only disaster and trouble in the creation of Poland, which he jokingly says has just ten times as many political parties as Germany — "seventy instead of seven." He frankly states that Germany should interest herself in Russian industrial and economic matters by reason of the geographic relations of the two states and the supplementary character of the products of the two countries. If the Stinnes programme succeeds, his party will probably have three portfolios in the reorganized Government that will follow. The present Government, according to him, has no one capable of dealing with an industrial or financial measure of such magnitude as the one under consideration. He made no mention of Rathenau's demise, nor did I, because Rathenau on one occasion had left no doubt that he and Stinnes were antagonistic extremists of the industrial groups. He does not propose to visit any other foreign official at Coblenz, and promised to let me have information, as soon as it is known, of the results of Stinnes's secret mission in France.

General H., who is now visiting me, is a very widely traveled man who is abreast of many questions of world importance, but at the same time he is preaching Anglo-Saxon superiority over the rest of the world. He thinks the British and American soldiers showed marked superiority over those of all the other nations. Unfortunately, too many of us can bear evidence of the extraordinary effectiveness of the German military machine in all its elements. He does not seem to be fully aware of the decidedly low state of the Allies in the spring of 1918 and of the fact that only the approaching arrival of reserves and reinforcements from across the Atlantic prevented conditions too terrible to dwell upon.

October 10. As the November elections draw near, discussion of the Volstead Act becomes more acute, with the Democratic Party almost committed to "light wines and beer." Former Governor Smith is again candidate for his old position in New York on a platform that upholds "beer, wine, and no income tax," whilst foreign states are protesting against Attorney-General Daugherty's ruling that foreign ships may not enter the three-mile limit with intoxicants aboard.

The mark has suffered another radical drop to 3000, and merchants everywhere are busy marking up their wares, knowing that future purchases by them will be correspondingly increased by the new low status of the mark.

October 11. The French press is not only printing the memoirs of William II, but is carefully checking and elaborating various incidents recorded by the ex-Kaiser, in such a way as to show that he has oftentimes failed to give a fair version in his writings. The reproduction of quoted statements gainsaying the Kaiser's reports is convincing that all was not said by the famous exile. The extended quotations from what would seem to be confidential official documents, lead one to suppose that some German is furnishing refutatory information to the French. The Kaiser's references to and even declarations of the constitutional power of the Chancellor in defense of some of his actions, notably in the Tangiers visit and the Kruger dispatch, are controverted in various cases by his well-known marginal notes on important reports whether by the Chancellor or a cabinet minister. These marginal indications often formed the base of immediate definite instructions or orders. Perhaps under the "Constitution" the Chancellor did have the power ascribed to him by William II, yet he knew that failure to hearken to imperial suggestions could readily cause him to be replaced.

The increased cost of living in Germany due to the further debasement of the mark is shown in the following, based on figures for the whole country (food, heat, light, and rent): 9.2 per cent for June over May; 33.5 per cent

for July over June; and 64.9 per cent for August over July. The foodstuffs contained in the "normal" ration of the National Statistical Bureau for a family of four persons cost in Coblenz in June, 3239.88 marks; in July, 4320.44 marks; and in August, 5906.08 marks. Under such conditions no argument is required to show the terrible strains imposed on large numbers of the population — especially those living on salaries and those of moderate means who depend upon the revenues from investments and shareholdings.

October 13. The French Section of the Commission still objects to any investigation of expenses of the Commission, claiming that each High Commissioner is responsible only to his Government. In an argument made to our representation on the Ambassadors' Conference, I stated that this Conference would be well advised not to issue any directions concerning the subject, but to refer it to the Governments concerned, recommending that they cause the expenditures of the High Commission to be surveyed and all appropriate measures of retrenchment to be applied; and that the preliminary study looking to this end be made either by a committee appointed for the purpose by these Governments or by the High Commission acting as such, rather than by the individual commissioners each for his own department as has been suggested by the French Government. There are certain activities, both political and economic, that Tirard does not want uncovered, and he will therefore never consent to the investigation except under compulsion. All this has been sent to Mr. Herrick, who has just returned to Paris from his leave in the States, but he will press the matter very lightly.

Perhaps Barthou, as successor to du Bois, may be able to carry out a more practical policy in respect to reparations. Certain utterances would indicate that the French Government recognizes the importance of considering the question more as an economic and less as a political one. Whatever she may get from Germany in cash will go but a short way toward liquidating a debt of 511 billion francs.

The greatest question now in connection with reparations is to prevent the flight of German capital to foreign countries.

In Stresemann's speech here a few days since, in referring to Russia, he said, "Capitalism had gone to Bolshevism, Bolshevism to cannibalism, and cannibalism back to capitalism," only part of which is intelligible. The Minister of Interior, Severing, is arriving to-morrow and proposes to call on all the heads of the Commission. It is understood that the Cabinet debated the propriety of his calling on account of the recent decision in the Smeets case, but finally decided that, since his visit had been planned before the decision was rendered, it might be more advisable to proceed with the outlined plan.

Floyd Gibbons, of the *Chicago Tribune*, Paris, wired for information concerning the big loss to Germany through the consumption of wine by the Allies. My answer was: "Not a bottle of wine of any sort has been requisitioned from the German Government by the American troops, nor has a single bottle been furnished by it. In accordance with a decision of the Commission, no revenue tax is paid on wines by the occupying forces."

The last elements of the Salvation Army are leaving this zone in a few days. The services of this organization have been highly satisfactory throughout, and greater unselfishness on the part of its personnel could not be asked.

October 14. A member of the former Majority Socialist Party, now the United Socialist Party, Minister Severing, called on me at the Executive Building about noon, in company with Hatzfeldt. He is a small man of ordinary appearance, whose conversation developed only mediocrity. He informed me that he had learned several months since of my policy toward the Rhineland and that all Germany is highly appreciative. When asked what could be done to arrest the deplorable falling of the mark, he claimed that it was due to so many reasons that a speedy remedy seemed impossible; but that speculation in it, especially in London, is just now specially potent in depressing it. The com-

ing winter is going to be very hard on a large part of Germany. Fortunately, he says, the potato crop in the eastern part of the country is very large and that will help relieve the food question. The conversation was in German, though Hatzfeldt occasionally interpolated an explanation in English.

The press is carrying a statement, given out by Secretary of War Weeks, to the effect that "as long as the cloud of trouble hovers over Europe, General Allen will remain on the Rhine as the representative of the State Department on the Rhineland Commission and as America's representative on any other mission the Washington Government may deem necessary — this in addition to his duties as commander of troops." This is the first intimation that has come to me as to what the Government intended to do with my services on my early retirement. In view of the request made upon five other major-generals to retire before the age limit is reached, the consideration for me is as flattering as it is agreeable. Under no circumstances do retirement and rest appeal to me as against work and responsibility.

The fine autumnal days of sunshine are compensation for the recent cold, rainy summer. With this weather, polo continues my chief exercise.

October 16. Yesterday Hutchinson and I motored to the Frankfurterhof for dinner, and to-day went down to Heidelberg to look in some of the antiquarian shops, returning to Coblenz to-night. Apparently these venders of old wares are having the busiest time of their lives, due to the excessively difficult economic period through which many of the good families of the land are passing. None of the conferences nor the proposals of Bradbury seem to arrest the fall of the mark, which has reached 3000. That naturally means more strenuous days for those same families. The disorders in Berlin yesterday are probably the forerunners of many more that will follow this winter.

A Japanese mission of four officers, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Count Kita, arrived here to-day and is quar-

tered in the Coblenzerhof. He is married to a sister of the Emperor and is traveling incognito.

Following hard on the heels of the report that I should remain here as long as there was any "cloud of trouble" on the Rhine, is another report of a conference between Harding, Weeks, and Pershing, which decided that the last of the American Army of Occupation would be returned to the United States in the near future, and that probably the order would issue in November. That may be decisive or it may simply be a move to help in the November elections. In any event, the President has promised and wants to bring the troops home, and it may be that this is considered a good time.

October 17. It is believed that the recent decision at the White House relative to our departure was hastened not only by the exigencies of the November elections, but also by the unfortunate muddling in the Near East, which barely failed to bring about another serious war. Primarily Lloyd George's backing of the Greeks against the Moslem Turks seemed to ignore the fact that England is the greatest Moslem Power. Had it succeeded, all would have been well, but, as it is, England has suffered a loss of prestige, not only in the heart of Moslemism, but even in the United States. As long as our people believed it was a struggle between Christianity and the Turks, our sympathy was with England, but, since Lloyd George has been compelled to yield nearly all he had contended for and must permit the Turks to come back into Europe, public opinion in the United States is stunned. As a Moslem Power Great Britain committed a great error in the beginning, which her interests demand that she correct now to a degree that compromises her dignity and humiliates her former Christian sympathizers. All this is not without its influence at the White House in causing President Harding, who is attentively following public opinion, to be more cautious than ever in regard to participation in European affairs. This, with the desire to secure better army legislation, seems to have caused our latest withdrawal reports.

From good sources it is learned that a confidential report made to Poincaré, at the time the seizure of the Ruhr was imminent, assured him that the annual expenses involved would exceed the accruing revenues by one and a half milliards of francs. A cipher telegram from Mr. Herrick, a letter from Paris, and one from Degoutte, inform me of the desire to have me represented at Wiesbaden tomorrow at another army cost meeting, to be presided over by Tannéry. The Cannes Conference seemed to have eliminated us from the consortium, since which time we have been playing our own separate rôle. France has seen fit to follow the Cannes Agreement, and also to do as we do, thus violating the former. Some time since, the French declared that, in sending officers and officials to the Rhineland, unmarried men would be given preference, that the burden and inconvenience to Germany ought to be minimized. It now develops that nearly all the officers are married and have astonishingly large families. A lieutenant-colonel arrived yesterday, and, when asked whether he was married, replied he had a wife and five children.

October 19. With Hutchinson I left Coblenz last night at nine and arrived in Berlin this morning about the same hour. We were met at the Potsdamerbahnhof by Colonel Coxe, our Military Attaché, and Mr. Chandler Anderson, Jr., and conducted to the Embassy, where we are guests. This conference, which was to be kept very quiet, was mentioned at length in the Paris papers of yesterday in a dispatch from Washington, giving the names of all who are to participate and the purpose for which the meeting is called. This information must have come from the State Department, for it includes accurately the names of those who are here and are to participate: Castle, in charge of the Western European Section of the State Department; Hugh Gibson, our Minister in Poland; Washburn, formerly private secretary of Senator Lodge, now Minister in Austria; Joseph Grew, our Minister in Switzerland, and Judge Brentano, our Minister in Hungary. Ambassador Houghton will preside.

We lunched with Coxe in his apartment, where all those named except Brentano and Castle, who had not then arrived, as well as von Haniel, Under-Secretary, were present. Von Haniel impressed me as being tired and pessimistic, unable to formulate any plans that appeared hopeful. He was aware of the big industrial negotiations now being discussed, but thought they could not stabilize the mark. He was very solicitous about the reports of our departure from the Rhine and wanted to know what could be done by Germany to prevent it. He was unable to understand why England now gave France so much latitude, amounting to domination on the Continent, when her time-honored policy had been to prevent that very thing. The German Ambassador at Paris had seen Poincaré about the Smeets case and had been told in reply, among other things, that the German press had been vilifying Poincaré. Naturally that was not specially relevant, and the Ambassador was finally told that the matter would be investigated. From the lunch party Houghton drove me out to the golf links to see Lord d'Abernon, who asked me for lunch or dinner to-morrow, but those events being already listed, we compromised on tea. He told me he had seen Professor Jenks, who was at the Embassy this morning, and that he and the Professor were in entire agreement as to the best measures to be taken now to stabilize the mark. Jeremiah Jenks was very prominent and useful many years ago in determining our Philippine monetary policy, at which time we were in close relations, but for several years our correspondence has been at an end, and I had lost sight of him. They believe, in a word, that two billion gold marks, in addition to the one billion now owned by Germany, that could be secured and made wholly safe from the hands of the Reparations Commission, could stabilize the mark at about 750 to the dollar. How can that much money be raised for or by this country at this time? Von Haniel says Hammerstein, Director of the Deutsche Bank, thinks one additional billion will suffice.

After dinner at the Embassy, Hutchinson and I went for

a little while to the Mercedes Palace, my first cabaret experience in Berlin. That phase of life seems to be the same, whether in New York, London, Paris, or Berlin.

October 20. At last Lloyd George has sent in his resignation to the King and it has been accepted. Bonar Law is to form the new Cabinet which will include Lord Curzon and Lord Derby. The declaration of the retiring Conservative ministers, including Chamberlain, Balfour, Lee, Worthington-Evans, and Crawford, gives assurance that the new Government will have a parliamentary majority. One of the most skillful politicians of modern history thus temporarily passes out of Government service, but it is indeed possible that his political *flair* will enable him to return at no distant period.

Following the first session, the Robbinses gave a lunch for the Conference members and others of the Embassy at their apartment on Pariser Platz, where the Kilmarnocks formerly lived. This session, which took place in the remote room of the reception suite of the Embassy, was opened by Mr. Houghton, who depicted Germany's political and economic situation, then described the details of the Franco-German industrial negotiations as given to him by Stinnes. Unfortunately, I cannot share the optimism connected with this matter, preëminently because in my opinion Poincaré cannot make the concessions demanded and survive. Houghton read a letter to the State Department bearing on the necessity of our Government participating in the financial restoration of Europe, wherein he set forth the possibility of securing the promise of European peoples, not Governments (possibly through plebiscites), agreeing to disarmament and peace promises for fifty years, in exchange for our cancellation of their debts. He did not ask that this be approved, but merely that all present give it careful consideration. It was then my turn to speak of conditions on the Rhine, which covered in brief outline many outstanding features with which most of the others seemed to be unfamiliar and in which apparently they were much interested. Grew followed me, giving a

DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE AT BERLIN, OCTOBER, 1922

Left to right: Minister Washburn (Austria), Mr. Castle (State Department), Minister Brentano (Hungary) Minister Grew (Switzerland), Minister Gibson (Poland), Ambassador Houghton (Germany), General Allen

résumé of the political and economic conditions in Switzerland, including a statement made by Minister X, both of which were well and tersely phrased and made a deep impression on all of us. The Minister's prophecy of one year ago had proved most accurate, and his apprehension for the welfare of Europe under the increasingly distressful conditions of Central Europe causes one seriously to contemplate the danger of an overwhelming wave of Bolshevism, which he apprehends. Washburn told of the various monetary crises through which Austria has recently passed and how she yet continues to live. The financial aid that the League of Nations is proposing will probably be accepted, and then it is hoped that the four principal guarantor nations, England, Italy, France, and Czecho-Slovakia, may in some manner secure the money from the United States or England.

Hugh Gibson at this afternoon's session told of Poland's aggressiveness — always backed by France — toward the Vilna seizure under Zeligowsky, toward Galicia for the forests and toward Silesia under Korfanty for the mines. Much of this is very familiar to me. Poland's failure to hold Ukrainia was a great loss to her, but the other events must be accredited to her as gains or at least until her acts have been disclaimed by stronger Powers. There are about thirty political factions among the Christian population of that country and twelve among the Jews, all of which shows how little the political character of that state has changed since and prior to its "partitions." The Poles do not want "permanent tutors."

Judge Brentano spoke of Hungary as a country without a lawful government, a country without a single friendly neighbor, but which considered Roumania as the most disliked of the adjoining states. Its financial status is quite as unsatisfactory as its political. It is reaching out for help from America, but in just what practicable way that can be accomplished does not seem clear at present.

Finally Castle told us of the slightly greater direct interest the White House is showing in European restora-

tion, but which will not produce any practical results at present. Perhaps after the elections, when there is more leisure, something may develop. He thinks the reported recall of the American representation on the Rhine is a political move. Before he had finished, it was necessary for me to leave the Conference to meet my engagement with Lord d'Abernon who was waiting. Arrived at the Embassy he had already finished his tea, but had kept some for me. We talked of the English Cabinet crisis, the Smeets case, the continued fall of the mark, which he said is to-day 4000 to the dollar, and of Dr. Wirth. Finally he asked me to come for dinner, together with the Chancellor, in order that we might talk of various matters about which he assured me Dr. Wirth would like to hear my views. Accordingly I agreed to beg off from the Johnson dinner and to dine with him at 8.15. He asked me to wear all my decorations, a rather strange suggestion coming from that source. The dinner consisted of about twenty-five to thirty persons, among whom were the Prince and Princess Blücher, he the great-grandson of the historic Prince. Baroness Nagell of Holland, born in South Carolina, sat between Dr. Wirth and myself. On my right was a little English girl, cousin of Princess Blücher, whom she is visiting. It was a formal dinner with the waiters in full livery. Immediately after finishing the meal, Dr. Wirth spoke to me and we sat down on a near-by sofa for an extended conversation, in which he showed great pessimism. Germany is absolutely at the end of her rope, and when the December and January payments fall due she will have nothing to pay with. He deeply regretted to hear the report that we are to be withdrawn, especially at this time when Germany needs our presence there. The European conferences avail little as long as the United States does not participate. He had talked with Dr. Jenks and hoped that the foreign economic advisers might offer some useful suggestions to Germany. It was evident that d'Abernon had primed him to talk frankly and freely with me, and this he did. Considering the serious debates in the Reich-

stag to-day in which he participated and the discovery of a plot against his life to-day also, it is remarkable that he was not more ruffled. Our conversation was finally ended by the arrival of d'Abernon and also by the request of Lady d'Abernon that I make a hand at bridge. It should be added that the Chancellor spoke, rather by indirection, of the fateful policy of Poincaré and rather concisely of the Stinnes project. There was, however, no great expectancy of rosy results for Germany from the latter. Our conversation began in English and ended in French. My return to the Embassy coincided with that of the family and the Castles. All of us sat round the big fireplace for some time before retiring. Houghton told me that the members of the Conference in closing had agreed that we should meet again in three months, in Vienna.

October 21. There is a vague report making the rounds that the American representation is not to be withdrawn just now, some insisting, however, that the Near-East imbroglio has shown the greater necessity for our quitting the European dangers. Castle told me that when he and Houghton visited the Foreign Office, von Haniel told them a cable had been sent already to Wiedfeldt, directing him to see our President in person with regard to our withdrawal. As that was done without the suggestion of any one, it is all the better and shows an additional proof of the importance Germany attaches to our continuing. To my surprise it was learned that Mr. Herrick had sent both his letter to me and my answer, bearing upon what he considered our pro-German attitude, to the State Department. I had no question that peace and restoration as well as treaty obligations demanded that we practice no discrimination, yet in writing to Mr. Herrick, whom I affectionately esteem, every effort was made to express my views without hurting his feelings. It was not supposed, however, that he would forward my answer to Washington. Castle thought my reply was "dignified, considerate, and logical."

Immediately after lunch at the Embassy, we went to the Army and Navy Coöperative Stores where there is a

collection of many articles, both useful and artistic, better than the small army and changed conditions would seem to warrant. As everywhere in Germany, the evidence of the separation of family objects through dire necessity was noted. Old pieces of furniture are left to be sold on commission by officers. The frequency with which one sees *Antiquitäten* shops filled with all sorts of furniture and other articles of household requirements, attests this same sad result of the debasement of the mark. Plate bearing the coat of arms of the states of Germany has been sold privately to one of the Berlin Embassies and a valuable pin belonging to the family of one of the ex-Kaiser's sons has likewise been disposed of.

Foulois's big dinner party at the Eden Hotel, given to announce his engagement to a handsome widow, was attended by all members of the Embassy and Consulate to the number of about thirty-six. This finely appointed hotel, frequented chiefly by foreigners and, some say, fast profiteers, evidently made a special effort to make this a notable dinner. The stay in Berlin at the Embassy has been very delightful, due in a great measure to the cordial and unaffected hospitality of both the Ambassador and Mrs. Houghton. His charming humor tinged at times with an agreeable touch of cynicism, and his unusual intelligence, make him a delightful companion.

October 22. My car met me at Frankfurt this morning about eight, and after getting coffee at the Frankfurterhof we started out to see a part of Germany not visited by me since the Kaiser maneuvers in 1898, and arrived early at this famous watering place, Kissingen, almost deserted for the season. Only a charming little hotel, called Wittelsbacherhof, "renovated in 1711," is open, but fortunately it is very good. The sickness of Mrs. Boyden and consequently the inability of Boyden to come to Coblenz to-day made this little outing possible, for it was my intention to return directly. Kissingen, with its enormous Kurhaus, pavilion, and bathing establishment, the largest in Bavaria, shows the importance attached to its waters. As the season

has ended and most of the shops are permanently closed, the summer gayety and activity can only be imagined.

October 23. Before leaving Kissingen this morning we looked at a few shops, one of which has a very large collection of engravings and colored prints. These were so attractive and reasonable in price that a couple of hours were passed there with the result that I carried away more than will ever be framed by me. They will serve, however, as agreeable and attractive presents. Germany is reproducing in color in an extraordinarily accurate manner the masterpieces of modern German artists, English and French sketches. This delay in Kissingen and the visit to a large antiquarian shop recommended by the hotel at Wurzburg, where we had lunch, has eliminated the intention of reaching Coblenz to-night. In any event I wanted to secure a few pieces of porcelain from the Grand Ducal *Fabrik*, that we recently saw in Darmstadt at the *Kunstausstellung*. In a large store of china and porcelain in Wurzburg we were shown articles with their two prices, one for the Germans and one for foreigners. As these bore the ratio of about one to two and a half, it is evident their *Ausländer* trade must be very limited. This was the first and only place where any hostile attitude was manifested toward us, although we have probably paid foreign prices for the few articles purchased at the several places.

October 25. Yesterday at a *Kunstlerhandlung* in Darmstadt I bought a striking oil painting of a horse-race by a promising young German impressionist, and some very attractive table decorations in porcelain from the Grand Ducal factory. The drive back was via Mainz and Schlangenbad, where we stopped for tea. The autumnal foliage, far more beautiful than last year, and the good roads made travel most attractive. As usual, after such sojourns as the one in Berlin, my civil and military assistants were called in and given a résumé of the political incidents connected with it and especially the Conference. The pessimistic views of the Swiss economist and of Dr. Wirth, which are so nearly in accord, necessarily cause concern. Herr

Levitzow, Hatzfeldt's assistant, informed Stone that they had news from Washington that our troops are not to be withdrawn, and Tirard has a cable from there to the same effect.

Kilmarnock came to the house to call and to learn something of my reaction after Berlin as well as news concerning the reported withdrawal. It seemed opportune to let him know that his ex-chief (d'Abernon) had been informed by me of his former lukewarmness toward the Smeets case and his mild fighting at times on important questions. He appeared surprised and disposed to question the accuracy of my remarks.

He was followed by Tirard with a dispatch from Washington which quoted Harbord as saying no order had been issued and that the report of withdrawal had come from Secretary Weeks's vague remarks to the press correspondents that the troops would be home in time for Christmas dinner. We talked at length and very freely about France's attitude toward our holding. I suggested that, due to the frequency with which we opposed French proposals here, France would welcome our departure; that had France gone into the Ruhr our troops might have been withdrawn summarily without any exchange of letters; that unfortunately American public opinion considers the present French policy as very aggressive; that the average American does not understand why we are helping in the execution of a treaty we did not sign and are helping increase Germany's debt for maintenance of troops four years after the war. It seemed a favorable moment for ascertaining directly France's attitude toward us.

Tirard explained that the French Government is anxious to have American representation continue on the Rhine, but hesitates to ask this lest it incur obligations additional to financial ones, and that American-French differences on the Rhine cannot offset the far greater general advantages to France connected with our holding. He stated that placing of French troops under American command has made a specially favorable impression in France.

CHAPTER XVIII

NATIONS AT ODDS

French budget shows deficit of nearly four billions — Proposed destruction of railways in the Rhineland — Mussolini heads new Italian Cabinet — America's "University on the Rhine" — We visit Ambassador Fletcher in Brussels — Investigation of expenses of Rhineland High Commission — The mark drops to 5500 to the dollar — Keeping Germany maimed — United States decorates Belgian Unknown — A hastily improvised Medal of Honor —Belgian attitude toward the occupation of the Ruhr Basin — At table with the King and Queen of the Belgians — To Paris — Fontainebleau.

October 26, 1922. Poincaré has declared in the Chamber that he will never accept any reduction in the German debt, and thus, "Nero is fiddling while Rome is burning." There is, however, an important political reason, though highly subjective: his own political head. The proposed budget for the coming year shows a deficit of nearly four billions and a clearly expressed indication that it will be much more. Maurice Bokanovski, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Chamber, declares that the policy of balancing the budget by loans has already reached the limit of safety and that additional taxes must be imposed. That, too, is difficult for any French Government to do. The little farmers simply refuse to pay such taxes as are already on the books. This discussion in Parliament has probably caused the drop of the franc to fourteen to the dollar.

The foreign financial advisers have arrived in Berlin at the same time as the Reparations Commission. They are Keynes of England, Cassel of Sweden, Vissering of Holland, and Jenks and one other of our country. The mark strengthened a little yesterday, but not sufficient to bring it above 4300.

The celebration of the anniversary of the founding of Germantown, Philadelphia, by Mennonites from Crefeld in the Ruhr Basin on October 6, 1683, is featured in the German press, which claims that date as the beginning of German history in the United States. The names of the

heads of the thirteen Westphalian families, nearly all of whom were related, are given, but I fail to recognize more than two names familiar to Americans. It is quite probable that a much greater number of Hessian names are familiar to us.

A letter from Fletcher to-day says he has received a note from the Belgian Foreign Office asking the United States to be represented at a solemn ceremony of burial of the Unknown Belgian soldier, and that he has telegraphed the Department "requesting your appointment." That will probably be followed later by our bestowal of the D.S.M. A certain Belgian some time since defended the attitude of his country, which then seemed to be averse to such a ceremony, by saying that there could be no assurance that the individual soldier thus honored was a real hero. Such a thought tends to dwarf two most important factors in human activities — imagination and sentiment.

October 28. The law proposed by Germany intended to suppress traffic in the mark, and to help stabilize it, was strenuously opposed yesterday by Rolin, who proposed that the Commission simply refuse to permit the act to go into effect in the occupied territory. Tirard was in accord with him, but was less aggressive. To have done such a thing would have been equivalent in a measure to nullifying the law for all of Germany, because dealers and *Schiebers* could have carried on in Cologne and other Rhine cities; it would have been a violation of Article 5 of the Rhineland Agreement and would have set a precedent whereby we could nullify almost any kind of Reich legislation; and, worst of all, it would have been another step toward separatism by establishing another measure in the Rhineland different from that in unoccupied Germany. Rolin has become the most radical member of the Commission toward Germany, perhaps because opposition papers in Belgium have been attacking him recently. The question was put off until to-day when we had a session with the Reichskommissar and adopted a resolution approving *en principe* the Berlin *Verordnung*. Fortunately

Kilmarnock stood fast, and with him I prevented the drafting of an ordinance that would have been as prejudicial to German sovereignty as is the action of the Commission in the Smeets case.

October 30. Yesterday morning Hatzfeldt came to my headquarters to see me about the proposed destruction or limitation of various stretches of railway in the Rhineland said to be strategic. I had just finished a letter of protest to Mr. Herrick against the decision of the Ambassadors' Council authorizing Foch through Payot to take the necessary steps to accomplish that purpose. My protest was primarily that the High Commission is the supreme representative of the Allied and Associated Powers in the occupied territory, and that therefore the Council of Ambassadors is not competent to give such instructions; that Payot is G–4 for the Commanding General of the Inter-Allied Forces on the Rhine, and not for Foch, Chairman of the Inter-Allied Military Committee sitting in Paris. Even were the procedure regular, the execution of such a measure as the destruction of railways when the increase of population and greater demands of commerce are strong for extensions of communications of all sorts, would almost amount to vandalism. I shall fight this question to the limit, and, should it finally be decided adversely, its application in this zone shall not take place. It is unfortunate that the American and British representatives, Herrick and Hardinge, should have permitted such a measure to pass, giving Foch the authority to act directly under the Ambassadors' Conference without referring it here for consideration and recommendation.

The black-shirted Fascisti are in complete control of Italy and are marching on Rome. They have declared martial law, and their head, Mussolini, has been asked by the King to form a new Cabinet. He proclaims that the military, legislative, and political administration of the nation is in the hands of the Committee of Four.

The Bavarian Premier, Count Lerchenfeld, who married an American woman, has resigned and will be succeeded by

Herr Mayer, now German Ambassador in Paris. Americans and tourists in general think the Bavarian Premier has been responsible for the great discriminations against foreigners in Bavaria.

October 31. A telegram from Washington to-day directs me to be officially present in Brussels November 11th for the ceremonious burial of the Belgian Unknown Soldier. Fletcher has asked me to be his guest on that occasion as well as to make them a visit to-morrow or next day on my way to Paris. With the colder weather the tourists and callers of various kinds are becoming fewer. The railway strike in the vicinity of Ludwigshafen is giving the military command, especially Payot, a fine opportunity to begin agitation another time for taking over the railways, and presumably we must begin exercising pressure to prevent again such an unwise measure.

November 2. At a recent session of the Commission, Tirard made an effort to gain a little political advantage by reading an extract from the *Amaroc*, headed "A Wave of Crime in the American Area." He suggested that this be brought to my knowledge, and that the dismissal of several high police officials might be suggested to me, as had been done in the British area. All this was to go into the record to show how incapable the Germans are, not only in the French and British areas, but also in the others — another element to be added to the fast accumulating mass of arguments comprised the French policy of taking greater hold in the Rhineland. When Stone reported this, I immediately wrote Tirard a letter assuring him that the importance attached to the *Amaroc* headline was wholly beyond the unimportance of the article; that conditions as to peace and order had never been better in the American zone; and that the German officials of all classes, especially police, are coöperating with American officials in a highly satisfactory manner. A copy was sent to each Commissioner and it is to be put in the record. Thus this act of Tirard will have operated in a contrary sense to what he intended.

With Barton I started for Brussels to see the Fletchers, and stopped off for the night at Cologne at the little hotel Kronprinz. Barton, who is keenly interested in purchasing works of art, above all antiques, could not indulge himself, the shops being closed for the All Saints' holiday. The drive across to Brussels via Aix, where we lunched at the Palace Hotel, has been delightful. We arrived at the Fletchers' and are now installed with them in the fine big house on the corner of Auderghem and Belliard Streets, which they have recently rented and moved into. As in all other capitals, our Ambassador found difficulty in securing "suitable buildings" for an Embassy. This one, however, has a fine garden and is sufficiently large to accommodate the Chancellery of the Embassy. Both the Fletchers are very cordial and hospitable. A few people whom I had met here before came in for tea, and at the dinner were the Devèzes, the Maglinses, the Devals, and the British Military Attaché, Lyon, and his wife. Although Maglinse, the Belgian Chief of Staff, told me no foreign troops would participate in the ceremony on November 11th, Lyon hears from his Government that some British sailors are to take part in the parade. Devèze is much interested in his proposed new military law involving a length of service of ten months for infantry, eleven for engineers, and twelve to thirteen for cavalry and artillery. While compelled to agree to this, Maglinse says Belgium will have no army with such short periods of service. All this recalls the statement of a distinguished English general, who said England has always two armies, one of which is being organized, reorganized, and disorganized; the other the army that cleans its rifles and falls in at parade. Devèze seemed interested to hear of certain events on the Rhine, but claimed that the Belgian policy there has not changed. He is not, however, *au courant* of Rhine questions, which he freely admitted. French pressure here is very potent.

November 3. The Belgian papers this morning publish without comment extracts from the *Manchester Guardian* containing a report, made by M. Dariac, "sent by M.

Poincaré to examine the economic and industrial situation in the Rhineland." This report insists on the necessity of organizing a control of the Rhenish industries should the German Government fail in its obligations. Eventually the Rhineland could become an autonomous state under the protection of France and Belgium. The report recommends the creation of a customs frontier between the Rhineland and the rest of Germany, the replacement of Prussian officials by Rhinelanders, and the extension of the powers of the High Commission looking to the calling of an assembly elected by the Rhinelanders. It is odd that, while all this follows logically the acts of the French, the writer never made himself known to me while he was on the Rhine.

The discussions going on in Berlin now, involving the German Government, the Reparations Commission, and the foreign financial experts, have not stopped the fall of the mark, which reached 5500 to-day. About 7 P.M. Fletcher was called from the Foreign Office, and was informed that "the King had consented to my request to have one hundred American soldiers present on the 11th." Certainly that was not my request, but Fletcher and I went around to the Foreign Office to see the Chief of the Protocol, who conducted us to the Minister of the Interior, who is charged with the organization of the ceremony. There was Cattoir, who had just come from Coblenz bringing the request just mentioned, which was undoubtedly due to a misunderstanding brought about by Stone's asking Rolin whether the Belgian Government would assume costs of that number of troops from the frontier on, provided they were sent. This matter had been brought to the attention of the King in a mistaken way; hence our visit. Fletcher told the Minister that we had made no request, but were willing to carry out whatever might be the wishes of the Belgian Government, and thus the matter was ended with the understanding that there would be no troops sent. It seemed clear, however, that the Government still felt that should England and France propose any troops they would

be accepted, rather than simply make an announcement that foreign troops would not be expected. As the Fletchers had a dinner engagement we dined simply at the Embassy, and later under the escort of Thaw, First Secretary, we went to a musical vaudeville, "The Chaste Diana," at the Alhambra.

November 5. We left Brussels yesterday in a rain for Aix-la-Chapelle, where we had a rather late lunch at the Palace Hotel. My liaison officer, Minuth, with his newly wedded Belgian wife, is living there; also his mother, a German from the Rhine country. He conducted us to an antiquary where we made some purchases; then proceeded on our journey via Cologne to Coblenz. Much mail awaited me, much of it from the States. Although Fletcher informed the Belgian Government that a special act of Congress would be required to permit us to decorate the Unknown, the following telegram came to-day:

> By direction of the President, the Medal of Honor has been awarded to the Belgian Unknown Soldier. Medal and citation will be forwarded later to the Belgian Government through the Secretary of State. Citation reads as follows:
>
> "Unknown Soldier of Belgium. By virtue of the authority vested by law in the President of the United States, the Congressional Medal of Honor, Emblem of the Highest Military Ideals and Virtue, is bestowed in the name of the Congress of the United States upon the Unknown, Unidentified Belgian Soldier in a desire to add all that is possible to the imperishable glory won by the Soldier of Belgium, who fought as comrade of the American Soldier during the World War, and to commemorate with them the deeds of the nations associated with the United States of America, by paying this tribute to their Unknown Dead."
>
> Secure the loan of a Medal of Honor for this occasion and award it for the President in the name of the Congress of the United States.

This was immediately telegraphed to Fletcher and a wire was sent Mott asking him to find such a decoration in the Paris shops or have one manufactured in time for the 11th and to send it to me at the Brussels Embassy. This

medal is not so frequently bestowed in our service that it may be readily borrowed. Mr. Herrick asks me down to Paris for a visit with him, and the American Women's Club of Paris, through its President, Mrs. Berry Wall, asks me for Thanksgiving lunch.

A letter from Houghton Mifflin Company says: "We are all of us disappointed here to learn that the publication of your journal must be postponed. I entirely understand the circumstances, however, and acquiesce cheerfully in your decision. I think public interest in matters pertaining to the Great War is beginning to increase a little so that, as a matter of fact, the delay may prove in the end to have been advantageous."

Last evening in passing through Bonn and Godesberg my car was stopped three times by French gendarmes, a fact I will forcefully bring before the Commission in a letter written to its President. It was not even known that there was any such control exercised over circulation at the present time in the occupied territory.

November 6. The controversy that has been going on so long relative to an investigation of the expenses of the High Commission has been settled in a way shown by a communication from Mr. Herrick to-day. On October 21, 1922, he wired the State Department:

> At 190th meeting of Conference of Ambassadors held yesterday, question arose of reduction of expenses of Rhineland High Commission which French had succeeded in postponing for several months. British presented proposal that each High Commissioner be asked to submit a report to his own Government on the expenses of his personnel and the possibility of effecting reductions, and that these reports should then be communicated by each Government to the other interested governments. This proposal was accepted. Having no instructions, I made reservations, but I know that Allen is strongly in favor of examination into expenses of Rhineland High Commission with a view to their reduction. Please cable instructions authorizing me to withdraw reservation.

The following reply was received October 30th:

One. Department is in favor of an examination into expenses of the Rhineland High Commission with a view to their reduction to the lowest possible basis and you should withdraw reservation. Two. Inform General Allen and request him to keep Department fully advised.

The whole matter should have been arranged in a rational way by simply having a committee organized in the Commission to investigate and report. Instead of that, reams of paper have been expended on the subject and much time of many highly paid officials has been devoted to securing this compromise which in the end will fail in its purpose. Possibly Tirard will report in detail to his Government, but assuredly other Governments will never get a satisfactory report on this matter. This procedure is highly characteristic of what is habitually taking place in the various conferences and commissions being held in Europe.

November 8. A letter from Washington to-day says: "The truth is, I think, that neither of the two Secretaries nor the President wishes to be convinced that we should leave our troops in Europe. Secretary Weeks thinks that, if we keep a toe-hold in Germany, we shall sometime in the future have a whole foot or more involved."

It is truly a serious problem for me to give the Government an unbiased opinion concerning a matter which presents two wholly different aspects — a European one and an American one. That our stay does help in moderating the policy of some of the states, there can be no question; but whether it is sufficiently potent in preventing the increasing antagonism between France and Germany, and in arresting growing aggressiveness to warrant our remaining in such a highly charged atmosphere, is a very different question. Perhaps France may one day simply inform us that, having refused to sign the treaty and being unwilling to collaborate (officially) with the European states in their present trials, it would be advisable for us wholly to leave the field to active players. That would put us in a most disagreeable situation, even though we had contrary

assertions from the other states. If France reaches a stage in which she feels constrained to think of America or talk of it in that way, then truly will Europe be traveling toward a chaotic goal.

The parliamentary discussions yesterday involving Poincaré and Loucheur leave a deep conviction that each is more interested in maintaining a maimed Germany than in reparations. They both claim that France should have her due payment and security, but of the two security comes first. That sounds just and reasonable, yet in its accomplishment France has not consented to any proposition put forth by financial experts looking to restoration of Germany and her consequent ability to pay reparations. That policy is driving European states toward an economic abyss, and it is preparing central and western Europe for some sort of Bolshevism that may change our present views as to what modern civilization demands.

November 10. With Barton I left Coblenz at 9 A.M. in automobile for Brussels to bestow our Congressional Medal on the Belgian Unknown. We reached Aix-la-Chapelle in ample time for early lunch, then visited the antiquary, Lebrun, where we secured some more *Antiquitäten;* then moved on to Liège, where we stopped to visit parts of the city on foot. With these stops we yet arrived at the Fletchers' in time for tea. They had a dinner party which included two Ministers and the President of the Supreme Court, van Trenghem, whose wife I escorted to dinner. She is a handsome French woman.

Fletcher read me a cablegram just sent to the State Department in which he sets forth the seriousness of the European situation and the apprehension he feels should we participate actively in the Brussels Conference. He is unable to understand how we can be helpful to Europe without lending her more money, and that cannot be done without an Act of Congress. In my opinion we could always show a sympathetic attitude, and perhaps by our counsel bring about such a condition as might justify our bankers and others in lending helpful sums.

November 11. The Congressional Medal, made in Paris and unfortunately too hastily done to be a reasonably good production as to medal or ribbon, will be buried with the Unknown under the Leopold Monument and may never be seen again. With Major Bogaerts, an instructor at the War College, attached to me, I left for the Gare du Nord, where a most imposing preparation was made for the reception of the Unknown. This station had received a sumptuous funeral decoration. The catafalque, with the four enormous burning urns at the corners and the heavy mourning coverings of the entire walls festooned and bedecked with flowers, made a memorable impression. King Albert and his son, Leopold, Duke of Brabant, in khaki and helmets, were there with state, military, and court officials. Among the heads of military missions were the Earl of Ypres (French); General Degoutte; General Girardi, an Italian corps commander; a Japanese Lieutenant-General, Inegaki; and indeed representatives of all the Allied armies. No neutral country was represented. The pallbearers were eight *mutilés*, four with only right arms and four with only left arms. Whilst the weather was the usual kind in northern Europe at this time of the year, the rain was not sufficient to prevent hundreds of thousands crowding the streets, windows, and roofs. The superb cortège on foot made a big détour of the city before reaching the column of Leopold, under which the Unknown now lies. All the street lamps along the procession were burning, but enclosed in crêpe, they added greatly to the solemnity of the occasion. An open amphitheatre had been constructed around one side of this column for the climax of the day's ceremony. Only one speech was made, and that by King Albert.

As Marshal French brought no medal, Degoutte first pinned the Croix de Guerre on the flag covering the casket. He was followed by the Italian, then myself, then a few others. Various representations besides the British had failed to bring decorations.

Sir George Graham, with his six feet five and three-

quarter inches, was the most dominant figure. He took occasion at the column to assure me of the great importance attaching to the continuation of the Stars and Stripes on Ehrenbreitstein. He and Fletcher seem to be getting along finely on major European questions wherein accord between the two countries is just now of great value to world welfare. He is spoken of as successor to Lord Hardinge at Paris — just as is Fletcher to Mr. Herrick. I took occasion to salute Cardinal Mercier, who said he remembered my visit to him at Malines two years ago. From the new tomb of the Belgian Unknown Hero we proceeded independently to the religious ceremonies at the church, Saint Gudule. The decorations and solemnity here were carried out in a most impressive manner, albeit the service was much too long. Here were the Royal Family, the Court, the Supreme Court, the diplomatic corps, the military missions, the Senate, the Chamber, all placed in the order indicated with respect to proximity to the altar. The music by the choir from Liège was remarkably fine and lost nothing by the introduction of the trumpet fanfares at times.

This long service delayed us for lunch with the Minister of National Defense till after 2 P.M., instead of 1.30, the designated hour. The heads of embassies and legations, the chiefs of military missions, Prime Minister Theunis, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaspar were there. Theunis views the present situation gloomily. He censures Germany for her attitude at the last conference in Berlin, for demanding money from the Allies instead of giving it to them. At lunch I sat between Jaspar, who spoke very freely concerning men and measures, and Burgomaster Max. Jasper held that Belgium would have to go with France into the Ruhr. Her refusal to accompany would not change France, and Belgium would therefore find herself encircled by an angered country. He seems certain, however, that France will not go into the Ruhr. Poincaré could treat the reparations question as an economical one and could make such concessions as would enable Germany

to make a foreign loan without sacrificing his political head, if he wanted to; but he wlll not do it. The Prime Minister and himself will go to Paris in a few days to confer with Quai d'Orsay; thence to London in order that there may be some concordance before the Conference convenes here. Minister Devèze made a speech of thanks directed particularly to the heads of military missions, to which Earl French replied by reading his speech translated into French in a manner that would have made Pershing's pronunciation seem Parisian in contrast. He has passed his seventieth birthday, but still follows the hounds.

Devèze seemed very appreciative of the cigars I brought him, though he made no further mention of purchasing the one thousand Coronas of which he spoke during my visit last week.

At the house this afternoon the Fletchers with Thaw gave me a first lesson in contract bridge, interrupted to go for dinner at Laaken. This beautifully decorated palace, with its superb Gobelins, offers a hospitality rarely seen in any royal establishment. All the military chiefs of missions except the Earl of Ypres were there. His absence was explained by the dinner given by the British of Brussels in honor of Armistice Day and his arrival. He came for the burial of the Unknown without even an aide, without a medal to depose; and, furthermore, he declined the services of a Belgian officer designated to attend him while here. The British have a code of manners all their own — "à l'anglaise," as the French call it.

At dinner the Italian and Japanese sat on the right and left of the King; Degoutte and myself had corresponding positions with respect to the Queen. His Majesty expressed in convincing terms his thanks for what we had done, specially mentioning the difficulty we had in securing a Congressional Medal in time. Whilst he spoke with each one after dinner, he talked longer with his old "Chief of Staff" Degoutte than any other. It will be remembered that Degoutte was sent to him as an assistant in command of the troops of three countries placed under His Majesty.

The Queen wanted to know whether it was really true that the young Belgian impostor had decorated me last year, as had been reported in the press. This same young man had played with her son and was well known by her. After narrating some of his other exploits, and hearing details of his talents in the American zone, such as securing money from my aide, she declared he ought to be an ambassador. Her daughter and two ladies-in-waiting, Countess d'Oultremont and Mademoiselle de Lanstshere, were the only ladies present besides Her Majesty.

November 12. The ceremonious inauguration of the Port of Brussels took place this morning, witnessed by many of the personages who participated yesterday, although the fog was so thick that objects fifty yards distant could not be seen.

This has been a very satisfactory day, devoted to writing, and reading Maurice Low's "Woodrow Wilson." He describes "Congressional Government" as an "extraordinary piece of work to have been done by a youth of twenty-three — in its way quite as rare an example of precocity, maturity of judgment, and grasp of his subject as Byron's 'Childe Harold'." Of Mr. Bryan he speaks as the chief who consistently led his party to defeat, but nevertheless retained its affection and admiration. Of Mr. Roosevelt, whom he calls "the progressive zealot," he says that what had been condemned in Mr. Bryan as being too dangerous and vicious, and rejected by the country as subversive of the security of society, was now, when championed by Roosevelt, accepted, not as destructively radical, but constructively progressive. Of Mr. Taft, he says: "Bitterly attacked by his own party and not spared by his political opponents, it is not surprising that the people believed Mr. Taft to be weak and cowardly, and that he was the creature of the great predatory interests who were under the special guardianship of the Republican Party. No man was more maligned nor more indecently treated by men who were under every obligation to treat him fairly."

November 13. We left Brussels on the Amsterdam Express, on which we lunched. Vis-à-vis to us at the table was a Japanese woman with a child of about four, to whom she spoke excellent French. On the train was also Lord Ypres with his valet returning to London. He looks as though he might "carry on" at his present rate for many years longer. He is neither loquacious nor taciturn, but is most unpretentious. Mott met us at the station in Paris and brought us to the Embassy in time for late tea. Grant-Smith, on his way to Albania as Minister, was here on our arrival. Minister to such a country with its population of only about one million inhabitants, with which our relations are very vague, and which hardly has a government, cannot be a very exalted post. He recalled our last meeting in Vienna at the outbreak of the war when he was secretary to Ambassador Penfield. Mr. Herrick looks far better since his two months' leave at home, and gave us a cordial welcome. He insists that Barton shall stop here also. After delivering him the copy of Fletcher's last telegram to the State Department covering certain important recent developments, he showed me a letter just sent by him to Poincaré, bearing on the importance of treating reparations as a financial problem by business experts. Just now Poincaré is having difficulties with the heads of political factions represented by Clemenceau and Tardieu, by Loucheur and even by Caillaux. The French press in part claims that England's refusal to meet at Lausanne to-day instead of on the 20th is not due to the elections on the 15th as claimed, but simply because she is satisfied with what she has at Constantinople and the Straits and is unwilling to confer until France expresses in advance acquiescence in that holding. These two Governments can no more agree on the Near East than they can on the Rhine, regardless of the parties that may be in power in the respective countries. Determined not to move too rapidly with my host on Rhine matters, which he sees through French glasses, I left them untouched, preferring to hear his views on the general situation. He had ac-

cepted an invitation for himself and me from the Count Beaumonts who had a dinner party for the most part "of a lighter variety — freed from official dignitaries." Their house, furnished with many artistic objects, is admirably adapted for entertaining. This party included the Marquis Saint-Sauveurs, the Count Polignacs, Princess Chimay, Mlle. de Jumilhoc, Mrs. Edith Wharton, and Walter Berry, who was quite attentive to her, Countess Brialmont, and others. My seat was between the hostess and Lady Guernsey who visited us at Coblenz. Polignac is charged with the restoration of Rheims, where he is the proprietor of the Pomery champagne establishment inherited from his grandmother. At present the principal markets for champagne, the United States and Russia and also the Central States, are largely cut off; and this, with the high duties imposed on luxuries in other states, has left the champagne business in a depressed state. The recent elections in the States offer some hope that in the coming years light wines and beers will be permitted — thus relieving a restraint on personal liberty.

November 14. This morning at rue Tilsitt I saw not only Boyden and Logan, but also Medill McCormick, who has arrived here, heralded by the *Chicago Tribune*, to begin his study of European conditions.

Our reparations representatives are just back from Berlin and consider conditions there so serious for European welfare that our administration would do well to make some official statement regarding reparations, whether or not invited to do so; and that it is almost criminal for the United States idly to watch Germany being driven into bankruptcy, whether by mistaken conviction or pure inertia or purposeful intent. They feel that, with the depreciation of the mark, German purchases of us of copper, cotton, etc., by January and February will be so much diminished that they will bring about financial losses at home.

November 15. The subject of the destruction of the so-called strategic railways was taken up with George Gordon,

who always accompanies Mr. Herrick at the sessions of the Council of Ambassadors. He thinks the Ambassador could not make any request for a revision such as my note suggests without direct instructions from Washington. If no more authority than that is accorded our representative here, then my freedom of action must be considered as exceptional and remarkable. Regardless of what Mr. Herrick may do, it is my intention to stand firmly against the "procedure" of the Council as well as against the execution of its mandate through Foch in the American zone. It is learned now that the destruction is contemplated only when the troops leave the Rhine, but that does not change the vandal-like aspect of the principle involved. At lunch at Voisin's to-day, Boyden had Vissering, the Dutch financial expert, Logan, Winship, Robbins, and Hodge. The presence of one foreigner prevented just the kind of talk I hoped we might have.

The Ambassador insisted that we take his Rolls-Royce for the trip to Fontainebleau, where I saw for the first time that palace with its wonderful study in interior decorations showing in a well-defined manner the furniture, rugs, and paintings of Henri IV, François I, Louis XIII, and so on down to the last French sovereign. Nowhere can such a fine collection of Napoleonic furniture be found nor such a clear index of the manner of living of the great Napoleon.

November 16. A visit to rue Tilsitt gave me a chance of reading Logan's report on the recent sessions in Berlin and what Boyden had written on request of Barthou as to what he would reply to the German note. It was proposed to have Boyden designated as a sort of comptroller for Austria, but our Government did not see fit to lose the services of such a valuable man on the Reparations Commission. We had a small lunch at the Hayes's with only the three of us from the house and Mr. Bain from Havana. It was there that the report written me from Berlin regarding Barthou's appointment on the Reparations Commission was confirmed. "The ex-Minister wanted to get out of the Poincaré Cabinet and the Minister President appointed

him to the Reparations Commission, hoping that the small increments from Germany through that body would work the political destruction of a troublous opponent."

The English election gives the Conservative leader, Bonar Law, a fairly good working majority. Both liberal parties, the Lloyd George and the Asquith, came out each with only about one sixth the seats secured by the Conservatives.

Cuno, director of the Hamburg-American Line, has been selected by Ebert to form a Cabinet. As a big industrial and a political enemy of Stinnes, who really caused the downfall of Wirth by alienating the Socialists, he should be able to conciliate in a measure the Populists and Socialists; and being a Centrist, he should be able to form a fairly strong coalition Government.

Barthou's appointment on the Reparations Commission has evidently had a valuable influence in softening the continued diatribes of the French press against Germany, which had willfully failed to pay and which should be forced to pay. Much of this has given place to expressions of apprehension concerning the menace to peace and order as a result of the high cost of living in Germany. Perhaps this is the beginning of a genuine restoration.

To-night Logan and Winship gave a charming little dinner party in their artistic house leased from Mrs. Carroll on rue Monsieur. There were four very attractive women present, Mrs. Potter, Moats, Potts, and Bate, in addition to Boyden, Bate, and the hosts.

November 18. Yesterday we lunched with the Pecci-Blounts in their superb house purchased and furnished with Blumenthal money. He is an American who has completely cut out his father's name and taken that of his wife and mother. His mother is now the Duchess of Montmorency, who lives with the Duke on the avenue du Bois. Our hostess's mother, who lives with her, is a Spaniard and a niece of Pius XIII. Our hosts are, therefore, an exceptional combination of American stock and Jewish, Italian, and Spanish blood, connected on one side with one

of the greatest French families and on the other with Pius XIII. The guests were Princess X, an American married to an Italian; the beautiful Countess Brialmont; Mlle. Jumilhoc; Mr. Blumenthal, the uncle; Mr. Herrick; the Italian sculptor Cataldi, who is making a bust of our hostess and who wants to go to the United States at an early date, and several others. We were shown the house, the children, and the unfinished bust the sculptor is making. Later we did a little shopping, went through the Harry Lehrs' beautifully furnished apartment, took tea with old Mrs. Gebhardt, who has not been back home for twenty years, dined at the Embassy in a very small party, and took the 10 P.M. train for Coblenz.

November 20. The assemblage for the hunt yesterday in the Stadtwald was largely attended. The international character of our hunt is strongly shown by the requests of the various Commissioners to be allowed to give the Sunday hunt breakfasts.

In spite of the chances of our going home at an early date and the improbability of sending it home, I am purchasing five hundred bottles of Rhine wine of the vintage of 1921, supposedly the best in the memory of the Rhinelanders. It is a fact that all vineyards of last year produced a wine that is already commanding prices far beyond almost any preceding year.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CUNO CABINET

Cuno forms new German Cabinet — French procedure is high-handed — Patullo's articles on the World War — The wholesome effect of the presence of American troops on the Rhine — Thanksgiving — The Lausanne Near-East Conference — Lloyd George drops some bombs — Failure of the meeting of four Prime Ministers in London — Ambassadors struggle with their French — A stag hunt — Viviani answers the ex-Kaiser — Turkey's position strengthened by Lausanne Conference — Christmas festivities — Our last New Year on the Rhine dawns upon European unhappiness and unrest — German proposal of no war without referendum — Premiers' conference in Paris fails — French and British views greatly at odds — Son of Richard Wagner gives a concert in Coblenz — Senate votes for withdrawal of American troops from the Rhine.

November 22, 1922. Following the first failure, Cuno has succeeded in forming a Cabinet without the support of the Socialists and Communists. That means a Government much farther to the Right than the previous one, and it may have serious difficulties with the strong Socialist parties. While this political turmoil is going on in Germany, the Sultan has fled to Malta on a British ship and the delegates at Lausanne are discussing with Kemal's representatives the Near East.

From a letter received yesterday, it is quite probable that J. and the Treats sailed from New York on the 18th, though no cable has yet come. The Kilmarnocks, Ryans, and Junkins dined with me last night, and some of us played bridge afterwards. I have written various "bread-and-butter" letters since returning, and in some of them a little business was mixed with the thanks. In a letter to Degoutte, a contrast was made between the severe punishment his court procedure administered to the American Heeney and the light sentence imposed on a French subject in this zone by one of our provost courts.

November 23. About two years ago General Caron, commanding a corps at Trier, requisitioned the furniture of a fine private house, which was permissible, but when ordered to a new post at Neustadt, he carried the furniture

with him. On complaint of the German Government, the High Commission decided the furniture must be returned. Later, through some kind of conference, a sale was forced, and this also was brought to the attention of the Commission, which again ordered the return of the furniture or refund of the money. General Caron thereupon demanded that the value of the money be made good in accordance with the rate at the time of purchase, the mark having greatly depreciated. Notwithstanding the two decisions of the Commission, no results have been obtained, and now the French section of the Commission claims that both the Ministers of War and Interior declare that as the French Government purchases furniture for its general officers the transaction was a *bona fide* purchase made by the French Government, and that the incident is closed. Fortunately some members of the Commission dispute the right of French or any other Cabinet officers to override the High Commission's act in the occupied territory. Again France has carried her point.

A few days ago, when Tirard left for Paris, he directed Roussellier to oppose my letter, bearing on the railway destruction, going forward with the Commission's letter to the Conference of Ambassadors, and this Roussellier did yesterday. After considerable debate, he was unable to make any headway and simply sought shelter in his instructions of opposition. In the mean while both Rolin and Kilmarnock stated they wholly approved my letter and would so state when they forwarded theirs to their respective Governments. This is another example of high-handed procedure, but, like the furniture question, it will eventually reflect much discredit on the instigators. The several Commissioners dislike openly to oppose an order of the Council of Ambassadors, but, charged as I am with the administration of this part of the occupied territory, it is not right to permit such an injustice without due protest and presentation of the matter where a reconsideration may be had. That explains the attitude of the British and Belgians, whilst the French dare not fail to give support

to a measure presented by the Foch Committee destined to decrease the German hold on the Rhine.

November 24. It is astonishing that the exceptional articles of Patullo have apparently created so little interest. It must be attributed to the fact that the world just now is weary of World War literature. Still, these articles, drawn from official and confidential sources as they must be, are easily the most important contribution from American sources to the history of that event. In a letter by Marshal Foch to General Pershing, November 23, 1918, there appears: "I am equally convinced that your troops will put all their soul into repairing, so far as they are able to do before leaving France, what has necessarily been destroyed during the course of operations. The work which would be asked of these troops would be of the same nature as that to which they have become accustomed during the campaign." In a word, the American soldiers were to be used as laborers to help restore the devastated regions.

These articles bring vividly to mind similar scenes through which I have passed since taking charge here.

November 26. A telegram from Treat yesterday as well as one from my representative at Bremen assures me that *they* are on the *President Roosevelt* and will arrive at Bremerhaven at 6 P.M., November 26th. I accordingly sent them a telegram of welcome and will send the Andys in my railway car to meet them. The Kilmarnocks gave a dinner party last night. Kilmarnock "fears" that the necessity of union between England and France now at Lausanne may cause certain concessions on the Rhine. The declarations of Mussolini more than suggest that he proposes to travel with the French Government in its German policy. This may be true, but that country cannot maintain more lasting accord with France than can England. The remarkable success of the Fascisti must stand a moral blow to the radicals of the world; and it is in truth the most hopeful sign thus far manifest that conservatism may prevail in Europe.

General Williams, our Chief of Ordnance, dined here to-night. He is making an official tour of Europe with a view to securing technical information relating to armament. As neither poisonous gases nor submarines are to be discussed at the coming conference at The Hague, whither Johnston has gone as chief military adviser to Judge John Bassett Moore, perhaps air machines will constitute the dominant subject of discussion. Who may say how the next great war may be fought? It might be safe to say that aircraft carrying gas bombs will constitute a most important element.

November 27. The little speech of Mr. Child, including the reading of his instructions from the Secretary of State, came as a bomb to the Lausanne Conference, whereat the Mosul oil fields were assuming dominant importance. The British have suggested that it was aimed at the French on account of the secret Angora Treaty made by Franklin-Bouillon wholly without their knowledge, and the French that it is directed at the British effort to control the Mosul oil against the will of the present Turkish Government and all others. The settlement of Thrace with that of an outlet to the Ægean for Bulgaria and the establishment of the various demilitarized zones have all dropped to a secondary position since the attitude of the United States toward the Near East was made public. We preach equal opportunity, the open door, and the freedom of the Straits. The English may well contend, as against our stand, that, in accepting the mandate for Irak (Mesopotamia), where she has expended much blood and treasure, she should have preferential advantages in spite of the wording of the treaty bearing on equal opportunity. Our action there is further confirmation of the impossibility of maintaining complete aloofness from Asiatic affairs. Our recent attitude in failing to join actively in the settlement of the many questions that have arisen since the war, reserving the right to make such observations as we see fit from time to time, appeals to the average European diplomat as the action of a poor sport and bully. He cannot understand how difficult

public opinion at home makes the determination of a European policy suitable to the rôle that world welfare demands of us.

The French press represents France again snarling at Germany, but whether she will bite is another thought. *Le Temps* heads its leading article of the 25th with "La France aura ce qu'elle prendra."

November 28. J., the Treats, and Clarina Hanks arrived yesterday from Bremen, and with them Mildred Stillman, who comes to visit the Andys. All lunched here, as did the Sewalls and the Sheens.

Medill McCormick passed through here to-day and was escorted to Mainz, thence to Frankfurt, by Johnston, who by chance found him and his wife at the Coblenzerhof. Degoutte had been instructed by the French Government of his coming and had asked Johnston to be present when he arrived. The Senator from Illinois will continue to get his European publicity from the *Chicago Tribune* and will be able to say he visited the Rhine, studied the situation on the spot, and therefore knows something about it.

In a letter to Secretary Weeks this morning, certain phases of our holding were pointed out to him:

> It may be accepted as a fact that there will be *no genuine peace in Europe so long as the left bank of the Rhine is held.* A normal European restoration permitting us to export the six per cent of our productions to Europe cannot be realized under present conditions. That alone would suffice to give us an interest in the Rhineland question, but well beyond that is the question of European peace. France is at the parting of the ways when she may or may not decide once for all to hold permanently the Left Bank and may actively and openly support the separation of the Rhineland.
>
> Beyond a question our presence is now a very great restraining force and that would be true were we here simply as observers without giving utterance to our views. The American administration of this zone, based on our well-known desire to have peace restoration and trade, and our independence of the jurisdiction of the High Commission and of the High Military Command, give us great influence. Many minor measures involving a viola-

tion of the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles and a square deal are advocated and passed without protest from me, but, when larger measures involving important principles are at stake, protest can well be entered by reason of the detriment their passage would entail to the American administered zone and to our place in history.

As to the separatist movement, we interpose no obstacles so long as public order is not threatened, and because it is believed that this should be a question between the Reich and the Rhinelanders. On two occasions, however, we have prevented the seizure of all the railways in the Rhineland by the High Military Command and their consequent militarization, probably permanently.

. . . . . .

In considering these matters, it might be said that they pertain solely to Europe and are of no concern to us, while as a matter of fact they are of decided interest to our trade in that they continue European unrest. Probably the Administration is concerned lest in exercising a constraint or restraint we become materially embroiled. . . . It is my candid conviction that our mild participation is having a wholesome effect in carrying out our national sentiment bearing on these subjects.

At a meeting of the Commission this afternoon called by me, considerable discussion concerning the sending of my letter bearing on the Rhineland railways was indulged, but it was evident that Tirard in acquiescing was specially interested in saving his face. He attended the special meeting at the Élysée yesterday presided over by Millerand. The press makes much of this meeting, leaving the impression that at it France formulated or adopted plans for taking over the administration of the Rhineland and important parts of the Ruhr in case she did not get satisfaction at the coming Brussels Conference.

Immediately after the end of the session, Prince Hatzfeldt came to call at my Commission office, decidedly troubled over the Paris reports and anxious to learn from me if possible something concerning them. After his visit I drew up the following to be sent in code to the State Department. It describes in brief the salient features of the conversation:

Prince Hatzfeldt, Reichscommissioner, much worried over reports of meeting held yesterday at Élysée, feels that equal opportunity in the occupied territory would cease to exist, and he thinks chaos would take place if there were French administration of the Rhineland and occupation of the Ruhr; that Germany fears a weaker British policy on the Rhine and asks whether the United States "will throw Germany over to France by withdrawal of troops," thus destroying completely the Versailles Treaty. Tirard, who attended the meeting in Paris, told me it was a very important one, but was not at all correctly reported by the press. It is my opinion that reports of this meeting are in line with the Dariac report and are intended as *ballons d'essai* as well as for home comsumption.

Hatzfeldt had heard from both Berlin and London that Bonar Law is going to give the French a freer hand on the Rhine for certain considerations shown England in the Near East, and he ventured to hope that something our Government might say or do would stiffen England's back. Never before has he appeared quite so despairing of Germany's status as to-day.

The *Amaroc* has asked me for a Thanksgiving "proclamation" for to-morrow, and, though the request was complied with before going to dinner, never have I found such difficulty in writing so little, because in fact a large part of Europe, especially Germany, seems to have little this year for which thanks should be proclaimed and because the publication here of our own greater material advantages would seem to be adding injury.

All of us dined with the Stones at a large dinner, where Mrs. Stone asked me to announce the engagement of her sixteen-year-old daughter, Ianthe, to Lieutenant Devine. While convinced that this pretty young girl should be finishing her education rather than marrying, I was pleased to toast the young couple and the parents who are also happy over the event.

A telegram from Washington to-night, in announcing that no more replacements will be sent, foretells the early departure of America from the Rhine, in accordance with what Harbord recently wrote, "Neither Secretary wants

to be convinced that our troops should remain on the Rhine."

November 30. The heavy fog and rain this morning obscured visibility in our point-to-point races, which nevertheless caused much interest and excitement. Frank G. Carpenter, who "reaches three and a half millions" with his articles, came with his two assistants for lunch. He took photographs, then made off for Berlin. These, with Grasty, Colonel Causey from Vienna, the Andys and their guest, and our house guests, made quite a party.

Besides the family and house guests, we had at our Thanksgiving dinner the Junkins, General Mordacq and daughter, and others, making a party of twenty-two. Mordacq, having been Clemenceau's military adviser during the Paris peace negotiations, is keenly interested in his old chief's reception and experiences in the United States.

December 1. The press carries a story from Washington to the effect that the State Department has declared categorically that the American troops are not to leave the Rhine. Elsewhere occurs a statement from the French Embassy in Washington that no such declaration has been made by our Government. Perhaps the jubilation in Berlin, where the published continuation of the troops was taken as an answer to the Élysée meeting, angered the French and brought about the contradiction. Though no word has been received by me from Washington bearing on this last phase, it is quite possible that the outlined increased aggressiveness by France and Germany's strong insistence that we do not throw her into France's arms by quitting the Rhine are producing thoughts of difficult cross-currents. As long as we are here, France would not attempt to take over the Rhineland for administration, "driving out all Prussian officials"; on the other hand, shall we see fit to stand in her way by continuing here? Little did one imagine, when we came to the Rhine as a direct result of the war to collaborate with our "associates" under Armistice conditions, that we should in the end be serving in a way as a moderator for our recent enemy

against her traditional enemy, our traditional friend. If the President decides on holding this area, he will be accomplishing an act for the welfare of Europe, possibly of greater importance than all the recent conferences.

An account of the Élysée meeting, recorded in the *Echo du Rhin*, outlines the proposed operations as an occupation of the Ruhr and Allied control of German industries in so far as the establishment of a customs boundary to collect five per cent taxes on all exports is concerned.

Under present conditions our stay here has become a matter of much international importance, requiring no little courage on the part of the Administration to continue. When we went into Mexico it was to chase Villa, but before we came out, the great bandit was forgotten in our difficulties with Carranza. We came to the Rhine with our "associates" to exercise a suitable pressure on the enemy, and are remaining to help relieve that pressure by restraining our historic friend.

December 2. The German press continues greatly worried over the threatening French proposals regarding the Rhineland and the Ruhr; and the utterances of Worthington-Evans and Bonar Law in the House of Commons yesterday are not very consoling. They both insist that Germany must pay, but yet they suggest with this declaration that the sums demanded must be only what is possible. Although the new British policy includes agreement with France and Allied solidarity, I doubt, indeed, whether it will support some of France's aggressiveness.

The Lausanne Conference is showing the great dangers that lurk in the present European unrest wherein Russia is espousing the cause of the Turks and Bulgaria proposes to fight for her demands for a port on the Ægean Sea. It seems certain that Lloyd George has made a mess of the Near East in backing Greece against the Turks, hoping possibly to have that little state to help England dominate at Constantinople and all that that means. Now the world is shocked at the execution by the new Greek Government of Cabinet officers and senior generals, and Eng-

land sees fit to recall her representative from Athens. If Russia, which is to be allowed to speak at Lausanne only on the control of the Straits, insists that this shall be under Turkey and that only Turkish war vessels may pass through them, then war in the near future is assured, regardless of the decisions of Lausanne.

Professor and Mrs. Jenks arrived this afternoon from Switzerland to pass a few days with us.

December 3. The largely attended hunt this morning was followed by a breakfast given by the Kilmarnocks. This gave Professor Jenks a chance to talk with Kilmarnock and others of the Commission. Following French bankers, he thinks that more taxes can be raised in France than at present, and that to continue demanding the impossible of Germany and getting nothing in consequence, is threatening the franc with the fate of the krone and mark. He hopes that suitable argument may be brought to convince Poincaré of the necessity of agreeing upon a fixed smaller reparations sum before the approaching Brussels Conference. If Poincaré, Bonar Law, Theunis, and Mussolini cannot agree to some definite sum between thirty and fifty billions before the Conference, then the meeting might as well not be held. Germany must, of course, show better will to carry out the agreements her Government may see fit to make. The present holdings will probably be a sufficient pressure, once French political conditions may permit a reasonable demand, to cause Germany to execute.

December 4. Princess Radziwill, who with her daughter is visiting the Harts, has with her a girl whose mother is the morganatic daughter of Alexander II of Russia and whose father is the morganatic son of the Duke of Nassau — a large, fine girl who lives at Wiesbaden, where her companions are chiefly English-speaking people and Russians. Wiesbaden contains a colony perhaps as varied and bizarre as any place in Europe.

A Washington letter indicates that our departure will probably take place as soon as the French have signed the disarmament treaty or given evidence that they will

not sign. From the statement given out at the White House regarding our continuation here and from the Secretary of War's renewed request for a larger army as well as the Secretary of the Navy's declaration that no more American ships would be scrapped until the treaties are signed, it is probable that France gives no assurance for or against the treaty.

December 6. After talking with Tirard this morning concerning the Jenks memorandum, I wrote the latter in London that the French Commissioner was far from agreeing to his proposals, as Jenks had supposed from the Sunday conversation; that he was thinking about additional guarantees; and that Germany's past and present attitude of non-payment was and is encouraged by the attitude of England and the United States. In general, he felt that the French Government is not to be satisfied with an economic settlement of the reparations. Tirard indicated strong probability of going into the Ruhr to secure additional guarantees for whatever may be agreed upon in Brussels. I assured him it was my personal opinion that such a move would not be sympathetic to the American public, especially because present holdings constitute ample guarantee, and because Germany anxiously desires to get rid of these holdings, which are peculiarly hurtful to national pride and subversive of unity and authority.

Le Temps in its leading editorial of yesterday speaks in a light way of the honorable statesman, Mr. Hughes, whose greatest achievement is the Disarmament Congress, and ends by calling attention to the fact that Russia, which was not included, is destined to be an important naval power, and that therefore the whole matter would have to be reconsidered before France could sign. Many weeks ago a member of the Commission said that, with his knowledge of French psychology, he would prophesy that France would discuss the matter just as long as we did the Versailles Treaty, and, in the end, treat it just as we did that important document.

The French Section has again brought up the subject of tax on wine, which we have always contended was a direct tax — like that on tobacco, exchange sales, and many others — and therefore should not be paid by the occupying forces. For special reasons the French and Belgians want to be inconsistent in this matter, and I shall simply content myself by pointing this out in a note to be furnished the Commission. The other countries avoid the taxes in question by the exemption given their canteens, but as our dry law prohibits the sale of intoxicants in our canteens, we are the principal sufferers.

A few days since a French officer, accompanied by a French soldier as interpreter, demanded the right to inspect bills of lading of the customs office at the Mosel docks, in our zone without authority, but quite in accordance with the French attitude toward things German. I sent a note of protest to the High Commissioner of the French Republic.

December 7. Houghton suggests that bringing in Cuno from the outside and authorizing him to form a Cabinet along his own lines, without the direct interference and control of party leaders, may serve to save the Government, if only temporarily. The net result of proportional voting seems inevitably to lead to parliamentary impotence, unless the formation of the Government can be taken out of the hands of the party leaders.

It is reported in the German press through the English Embassy in Washington that the Secretary of State has declined to participate in the Brussels Conference because of the bad impression the reported intentions of France have made on the United States, but that our country would support the English position in the discussion of friendly economic questions. Moreover, the refusal of the Treasury Department to continue the discussions concerning the refunding of international debts seems to be in accord with the same thought and intended to put some pressure on a Government more interested in home politics than in world welfare.

The position taken by Mr. Child at Lausanne also shows that our country feels the necessity of expressing some views on foreign matters at foreign conferences. He has stated that no nation by virtue of its geographic position should hold the power of depriving every other nation of its commercial rights. This is not only against the interests of America, but against the policy of the world. The right of the world freely to make use of the Straits and the Black Sea on its friendly errands is an absolute necessity. The United States cannot accept a policy that the future commerce of the Black Sea is the exclusive affair of riparians. The Entente also declares for the freedom of the Straits, but under several conditions as to armed vessels and wartime, whilst Russia ostensibly stands for Turkey by claiming that these waters should be under control of the Turkish Government.

Colonel Burroughs, retired, who for two years has been training and preparing our horses, with which we have successfully competed with our associates in racing at Cologne and Wiesbaden, as well as here, died to-day of pneumonia. There is no one in the command who has the special talent required for this duty. From my viewpoint our representation here demands that we compete with our associates in every phase of soldier activity, and this one should not be neglected.

December 8. To-day we were apprised by wire of the intention of the Council of Ambassadors to charge the High Commission with the collection of a million gold marks' fine, resulting from the Passau and Ingolstadt incidents. The telegram directs the impounding of all funds in all tax and other public offices in the Bavarian Palatinate by December 11th, provided Germany defaults in payment or apology. To avoid any doubt as to the authority of the Council of Ambassadors, the Commissioners have received instructions from their respective Governments to assist in carrying out this plan. That makes it undesirable for me again to protest against the encroachment by that body on the authority of the High Commission. The French

have once more brought about, in a specially clever way, a measure helpful to separation. Perhaps this phase should be brought to the attention of Mr. Herrick, but it is doubtful whether he would be interested. Herr von Mutius, of the German Foreign Office, called this afternoon, but he had no information concerning this disposition of the Passau-Ingolstadt incidents. He appeared specially pleased that we are remaining on the Rhine and twice spoke of the fact as a protection to Germany. I told him we held no brief for Germany or France, but are keenly interested in peace and fair play. This German diplomat is married to a French woman, and is *en route* to Paris to attend the funeral of his father-in-law. He was a member of the German delegation at the important Brest-Litovsk conference during the war immediately following the Russian *débâcle*. During his stay of two years in Warsaw as an officer of the occupying forces, he learned the difficulty of having soldiers under such conditions observe a proper consideration for the welfare of the inhabitants.

December 10. With the Treats we made a trip yesterday to Bad Ems to visit the old silver shop, lunched at one of the few hotels now open there, then went on through the snow to see Schloss Schönbrun. Their departure for Berlin leaves us without guests.

The snow made the hunt this morning specially attractive, though most of the British contingent, in their conservatism, could not hunt under such conditions. The 8th Infantry converted their Club building into a huge hunting lodge for the breakfast, with many hunting scenes painted on heavy paper and a great quantity of other scenery and evergreens. In the reception room there was a noteworthy exhibition of hunting trophies from Africa, lent by a German who proposes selling them for half a million marks, which at the present rate is only about six hundred dollars. I shall probably purchase them with a view to dividing them between the Lincoln Memorial University and Georgetown College.

Major Beuwkes, of the Medical Corps, who has come

out of Russia for a short while, dined with us to-night and gave the most detailed and probably accurate description of conditions in Russia that has reached my ears. The medical work, by its far-flung system of inoculation, has saved thousands of lives from typhus, and the establishment of homes for children has greatly diminished the former accelerated death-rate. Still, there is little hope for a genuine improvement toward a modern state for many years to come. The most that can be said now is that there is a stabilization with regard to life, though the ruble is thirty millions to the dollar. The last paper money printed simply lops off four ciphers and is negotiable at the resulting figure: one hundred thousand rubles become ten.

December 11. Lloyd George's attack on French policy, in the first of a series of articles in the *Daily Chronicle*, constitutes the most sensational article in the press of to-day, not excepting the record of the striking incidents at Lausanne where the Turks have become frightened and have rejected Russian assistance. The article has greatly angered the French, and has been taken up in a spirited reply by Poincaré as well as by all the French press. The Rhineland policy as set forth in this article accords with acts more than with declarations, and the refusal to accept the British written proposal to guarantee France against German attacks accords fully with the account of it given me by Lord Hardinge. This article has at least enough accuracy to cause something of a shock to America and to all neutral countries.

Whilst the French are demanding the occupation of Essen and Bochum with a customs line around the Ruhr Basin as "productive guarantees," there are murmurings that the United States has let her opposition to coercive measures be made known. It might be that Lloyd George's views that France has become what Germany was in 1913–14 may have an approving reaction beyond the Atlantic. It has even been suggested in the German press that the American occupation is maintained to prevent French aggression. It might be stated that without any replace-

ments our stay here may be said to be terminating, in spite of the changed attitude of the President toward this matter. From private letters it is learned that Borah, La Follette, and others are still insistent on our return and are making this subject a very disagreeable one for the Administration.

Degoutte's new chief of staff, General Semaire, called to pay his respects, and I profited by his presence to give him details of certain incorrect acts of the French commander in this zone and to ask his transfer elsewhere. It had been my intention to take this up personally with Degoutte.

December 12. Lloyd George's first article in the *Chronicle* contains a bomb: "There are men in France who counsel annexation of territories populated by another race. They must be warned that such a step will alienate the sympathies of Britain and America, and that, when the inevitable war of liberation comes, the sympathies of America and Britain will be openly ranged on the side of those who are fighting for national freedom." "Annexation" is a word that the French do not use; had the writer employed "separation," he would have been less liable to attack.

The failure and breaking up of the meeting of the four Prime Ministers at London, where France again showed that unless her plans were adopted there would be no agreement, is another evidence of the general discord.

There is a rumor in circulation that Foch is proposing a conference in Mainz to discuss the advisability of leaving French troops under American command. If he brings that subject to my consideration, he will be plainly told that there would be no objection to his removing all to another zone and that I will be responsible for the maintenance of order here with our small force. Presumably by the time that situation is discussed, we shall be ordered home, or the President will have decided to adopt a firmer attitude toward the Rhine question. But it is doubtful whether Foch will bring it to a discussion.

December 14. With Harts and J., I drove to General

Godley's this morning for "the ceremonial parade for Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War." The Minister, General Bingham from Berlin, and the Kilmarnocks were house guests, and General Degoutte was already at the house. Lord Derby was most jovial and genial. In Godley's house there is never the stiffness that sometimes characterizes English hosts, and this morning all seemed to be in good humor — possibly due to the first day of sunshine in three weeks. Derby is a great pal of Hugh Wallace, of whom he spoke in affectionate terms. Though a well-known Francophile and advocate of even more than a Franco-English understanding, he does not favor Poincaré's present attitude. He seemed to be impressed with my suggestion that present guarantees are ample, and that in the interest of genuine peace no more should be demanded.

The march-by was long, in column of squads. When Fuller, the chief of staff, was asked why a platoon column or at least a double column of squads was not used, he replied, "I am afraid they could not do it well." Then he corrected himself by saying, "The troops are trained for war, not peace." Both replies fall short.

At lunch Lord Derby told of meeting in Paris one of our newly appointed ambassadors, when he himself was bemoaning his ignorance of French. Asking our representative about this point, he was answered, "I know enough to make myself understood." Derby was convinced that the American had the advantage over him, but a few days later he overheard his colleague say to a Frenchman, "*J'ai la plébiscite* (fleabite) *sur ma jambe*." Whereupon his depressed feelings were relieved.

On our way back we stopped at Bonn for tea with the Duchess of Ahrenberg, who was as radiant as ever, her studied simplicity relieved only by enormous emeralds. She is not happy at Bonn, nor is the Duke much in evidence. A sojourn for them is not practicable in France or Belgium, and she does not want to live in Germany. The occupied territory seems to be a compromise.

Quai d'Orsay has let it be known that the measures the

Government will take against Germany will not involve the mobilization of a single soldier, that Parliament will be kept abreast of its intentions, and that no action will be taken before January 15th unless the Reparations Commission declare a moratorium in the mean time. Evidently Poincaré has seen the writing on the wall and is thus easing down to meet the actual requirements. It is fortunate.

December 15. Yesterday and to-day two Rhineland celebrities have visited Coblenz — Herr Smeets, who was in consultation with Fieker of my department, and Dr. Dorten, who was seen coming out of French military headquarters without making his presence known to us. The former is President of the Rhineland Republican People's Party which stands for a separation from Prussia with which he claims there is no community of culture. He claims that "it is a sacred duty to guarantee Western Europe against the hostile incursions of the Bolshevist East by separating Frank Rhineland from the militaristic Slav Prussia and the establishment of a Rhine Republic independent, neutral, and free." He left three invitations for me to a meeting in Bonn, requesting that at least some of my staff participate. This "congress" is called to discuss the replacement of the Reichskommissar by a representation properly Rhenish, the expulsion of Prussian officials and agents of the Heimatdienst, which exercises a supervision, constraint, and intimidation over the Rhineland population, and also the introduction of a Rhenish franc instead of the demonetized mark. He claims that his methods are peaceful and that he has nothing to do with France or French people. In spite of this statement, Germany is sure he is subsidized by France.

Colonel Piazza, who is temporarily in command of the French contingent, informed the Burgomaster yesterday that soup kitchens at the French barracks were opened for the German poor, but was informed that the situation did not demand such a procedure. Whereupon the wrathy colonel sent to have the Mayor come to his office. This "invitation" was declined, and at that stage the matter

was brought to my attention. Never have I permitted such an act of domination by any American officer. In fact, the French should have no dealings with the Burgomaster except through my headquarters, and of the soup kitchens we had heard nothing. Two years ago, when the French refused to have the Quaker-Hoover kitchens established in their zone, it was opposed because it was claimed the soldiers were performing that service at their kitchens. The Germans then maintained that they did not want to eat from the hands of the French soldiers. These two nations are mutually recriminative, and even though they may understand the psychology one of the other, their actions do not give any such assurance.

With Joe I went to Bonn this evening to dine with General Henrys in the fine house he has taken. The party was not large, but included both the Duke and Duchess of Ahrenberg. This couple finds itself in a very uncomfortable position, especially because she insists on seeing the French, whilst he hardly knows where he can comfortably live or with whom he can congenially associate. The Duke said that before the war he had eighteen automobiles and now barely one, and that his one hundred and thirty-five servants have been reduced to one-tenth of that number.

December 16. This has been a day of scolding and conference. Colonel Piazza, acting commandant of French troops, was summoned before me on account of several communications of an insubordinate and impolite character addressed to my headquarters. The little man protested any such thought, and, claiming that no disrespect was intended, begged me to forget them, and swore that nothing of a similar character would occur in the future. General Carrence, ordered down from Bonn by General Degoutte to command here during General Marty's absence, came later and read the communications referred to. He agreed that Piazza should be sent elsewhere and presumably that will end the career here of that captious little "Corsican."

After this I had a session with Tirard, brought about

directly by his insistence on having the hotel recently evacuated by the Salvation Army for a *foyer du soldat.* It was not my intention to discuss details, but to impress upon him the importance of the dignity of our nation in respect to its holding especially in Coblenz, rather than to permit our representation to appear simply as an auxiliary to the French. As usual, he wanted to assume and maintain the talking, but he consented to permit me to finish a long story wherein he was informed: that each French regiment, as well as each Commissioner's guard, had *foyers* or clubs reserved for them near their headquarters; that it was therefore unnecessary to have what he was asking for; that there are too many French troops in Coblenz, some of which could well go elsewhere in the area; that under no circumstances would I permit any increase of French activities in the center of this city; and that it was indecorous on his part not to see and appreciate the fact that the center of the American zone should not present the appearance of a French holding. My language was such as to leave no doubt of my intentions to limit French encroachments, and in the end he remarked, "If I were General Allen, I would do exactly what General Allen is doing." Such a statement is not as satisfactory or as yielding as it seems, for behind it was the thought that as French High Commissioner he should do what he is doing. However, the maximum of French *show* in this city has been reached for the duration of my stewardship. Tirard and I parted on excellent terms, and just before leaving he asked whether it would not be better to have his dancing party follow my dinner party in the last days of the year.

Lord Derby, one of the most pro-French of English statesmen, remarked, while at Cologne, that the chances against England and France reaching an agreement are about as ten to one.

December 18. Mrs. Sewell put her final touches on my portrait to-day and then took it over to the ubiquitous Zimmerman to be photographed. She says it is about the best man's portrait she has ever made.

December 19. General Boissoudy, formerly commander of the Seventh French Army and now of the Superior War Council, arrived to-day from Mainz with a large retinue of officers of his own staff and of General Degoutte's, but I did not deem it necessary to have any military demonstration. The General went directly to Tirard, who had a stag lunch at which I was the only foreigner. General Henrys was also at the lunch, though he came primarily to see me about Colonel Piazza's case. Henrys has had a brilliant career. I did not insist upon sending Colonel Piazza out of the zone, but it was agreed that he must write an ample apology for his acts.

Mr. Herrick has made reply to my communications bearing on the "strategic railways," but he will not press my views before the Council of Ambassadors without direct instructions from Washington.

December 21. With Joe I started this morning for the stag hunt in the Königsforst staged by Major Féligonde, Master of the French Mainz Hounds. This forest, composed largely of conifers, beeches, and birches, about fifteen kilometres southeast of Cologne, belongs to the Government domain. At the rendezvous in the middle of the forest were twenty-five to thirty French and English officers and a few women of each of these countries. There were only four Americans, including our Master of Hounds, Major Talbot. The effort to locate a stag and get a start in the usual French way by using two or three reliable hounds failed. Then all the hounds, about twelve to fourteen couples, were released, and after running riot a short time a wild boar and stag were started, thus dividing the pack into two. We went with the stag section, but not with any assurance as to whether it was a roe buck or a red stag until we sighted him a quarter of an hour later. We failed to catch. The great rainfall in recent days and the absence of sunshine made the going in the forest very heavy, at times boggy to the limit of riding. In these hunts the hounds are not followed directly, but the wood roads and cleared spaces through the forest are utilized as far as

possible. To be successful in keeping within hearing of the hounds, it is essential to know well the country hunted. It requires some brisk riding to stay with the hunt.

December 22. Viviani's "Réponse au Kaiser," now appearing in many dailies of various countries, gives him a fine opportunity to write a history of Modern Germany that will have an enormous sale. Thus far it has treated of the decadence of the old German (Austrian) Empire and the conception and creation of the Reich — by the right of conquest, by the right of Germany to live and breathe, and by the judgment of God. He shows the growth of collectivity in the new empire in distinction to individualism, and the consequent worship of force in the German temple. The development of a comprehensive system of compulsory education, with the discipline inculcated in all classes by the military policy and the collectivity doctrine, produced such team-work as few nations have ever known. Perhaps in this respect an example of effectiveness was set that should serve as a model to all nations, provided it does not lead to the doctrine of the right of conquest.

The Lausanne Conference is nearing its end, with the result that Turkey comes out a far stronger European force than could have been contemplated after the terms of the Sèvres Treaty. Capitulations will be abolished, the Greek Patriarch will have only a spiritual rôle, Constantinople will remain wholly in the hands of Turkey, and the demilitarized zones and control commissions will be minimized. There will, however, be an allied commission charged with maintaining the freedom of the Straits with limitations as to the number and size of warships that may pass. Our delegation — Child, Grew, and Bristol — will not be authorized to sign any resulting agreement. We shall perhaps later make a separate treaty with Turkey embodying our well-known views regarding the Black Sea as a body of water that should be available for commerce and friendly ships on a parity with the Mediterranean.

The expressed desire of the United States to be helpful in the present financial troubles in Europe continues to be

the subject of great interest in the press, notably the German. The mark has strengthened under the impulse, and, low as it is, the future seems brighter.

The Rhineland question continues to be the center of political interest. There is no doubt that a majority of the population of the occupied territories is antagonistic to separation in any form. Numerous political and economic organizations have expressed their indignation at the mere suggestion that the Rhineland should be separated from Germany, because they consider such a separation an attempt to violate the right of self-determination of the German people. With the exception of the Separatists, all classes and political parties appear to stand united in defense against what they term "machinations of the Parisian Apostles of the Doctrine of Force." Even the Communists have strongly denounced all Separatist aspirations, which they claim would result in the ruin of the labor classes.

December 24. Although the shops are filled with articles of all sorts, probably more attractive than last year, the prices are double in many cases. Still evidences of Christmas holidays are far less striking than usual, due to the greater stress imposed on the better classes by the low level of the mark.

December 26. Christmas Day passed off with much merriment, largely owing to the tree we had for the grandchildren, to which about forty other children and many parents and others were invited. The Devereux family from Chevy Chase, Maryland, now living at Wiesbaden, gave a large dinner party to-night. All members of the A.F. in G. contributed to the trees for the poor children.

Nothing shows more conclusively that our country is awakening to the necessity of our participation in European restoration than Borah's amendment to the Navy Bill, which says: "We are interested in the payment of what Europe owes us; we are also interested because we want the European markets open for our farm products. Millions are hungering and dying in Europe for products which are rotting on our farms. We are directly, immedi-

GENERAL ALLEN'S FAMILY AND FRENCH CONNECTIONS AT THE HOUSE ON THE RHEINANLAGEN

ately, and vitally concerned. I am not overfond of conferences, but there are times when they are helpful, and this seems to be one of those times." Coming from the "irreconcilable" Senator from Idaho, that means much in showing a change now taking place in public opinion in our country. The Administration will, however, not consent to call a general conference now — certainly not until after the meeting at Paris set for January 2d.

December 28. Yesterday we again had a meet of the Mainz and Coblenz hounds in the Königsforst, where the stag hunt was good sport. Even though we did not take the huge red animal, we had two hours good running.

The Bartons gave a big domino party at the Coblenzerhof as their farewell to Coblenz, prior to his going to California to engage in the artistic branch of the cinema business. His departure is a distinct loss. If it be decided that we are to remain, I shall ask the State Department to send me a clever man to replace him.

December 30. Through the influence of the People's National Party, posters were put up in the American and English zones purporting to be extracts from Lloyd George. They created much interest, and were supposedly intended to educate the working classes during this holiday season and to bring about dissensions in the holding countries. Although this step would seem a reasonable way for the Germans to fight the Separatist movement so strongly encouraged by the French, it was in fact not a skillful move. After considerable discussion the Commission ordered that the posters must be removed, and that no new posters shall be permitted.

The text of the poster quoting Lloyd George's remarks is: "The Rhineland is in race, speech, and culture German; and, although the French claim they want to make a free, independent republic of the Rhine, this would simply mean a state under French protection — practically an annexation of the Rhineland by France."

December 31. At the end of this year one cannot refrain from remarking on the unrest and unhappiness of the

world, on the severe blow to civilization made by the Great War and the dangers that still threaten. Europe seems convinced that restoration within a reasonable time is impossible without the aid of the United States. Fortunately, Mr. Harding's letter concerning Borah's proposal, and Mr. Hughes's statement in his speech at New Haven, indicate a definite intention on the part of the Government to participate actively in the reparations question. That is the most hopeful feature of the sad situation that confronts the world as the New Year begins.

Tirard is back from the discussions at Paris and says French officials there claim he is an Americanophile or an Anglophile. Perhaps Bonar Law's disposition to make concessions in the cancellation of the French debt and the opposition of all the states to forceful action may bring France to the recognition of a more peaceful policy — one in which moral pressure on Germany and demands of possible execution by that country may secure some money now so essential to France.

January 1, 1923. Our New Year's reception was attended by about four hundred persons. J. was assisted in receiving by Mesdames Rolin, Kilmarnock, Roussellier, Bates, Stone, and Easterbrook. There was no disagreeable crowding; I have seen about as many people at a Washington tea or at a London dance in a house with one fourth the capacity.

I sent telegrams of good wishes to our Ambassadors in Europe and to Joe Grew, our Minister to Switzerland.

January 2. On my return visit this morning to Dr. Fuchs, Oberpräsident, he declared that if the Rhineland, the heart of Germany, were separated, the main country could not exist as at present, so essential is it for the whole. France's intentions are centered, according to him, on the destruction of Germany rather than on reparations, and his country's chief hope for rescue is placed in the well-known sense of justice of the United States. He recalled the former good relations between his country and ours and praised our holding policy on the Rhine. Like all intelli-

gent Germans he realized and spoke of the almost certain impossibility of England and France finding common ground for agreement. The coal question alone would confirm that, and especially would this be true should France control the Ruhr output. Dr. Fuchs is a big, strong type of a German of the middle class, who is carrying a heavy burden as chief executive of the Rhineland.

It has been stated, and not denied, that Germany proposed entering into a pact with France, and the other Great Powers interested in the Rhine, not to wage war against each other for a generation without first having taken a referendum of the respective nations. Dr. Cuno declared that this was presented to France by a third power and was declined. This was cited to show that France had nothing to fear from the alleged warlike intentions on the part of Germany.

Although the Premiers' Conference opened at Paris today, we have no information thus far whether or not our country will have an "observer" there.

January 3. Dr. Heuer, a correspondent of the *Ullstein Press*, Berlin, called this afternoon particularly to learn what would be the attitude of the American occupation in case France decided to undertake aggressive measures, such as the Ruhr occupation, expulsion of Prussian officials from the Rhineland, establishment of customs barriers within Germany, or the separation of the Province. This was the first visit I have had from a German journalist. After praising the American and British representation for the existing good relations, he declared the *brutalizieren* of Germany by France would inevitably lead to a strong development of the spirit of revenge, and that nearly all intelligent people of his country are convinced that the claim for reparations under the form of productive guarantees is simply an extension of the policy of crippling his country.

We are following the Paris Conference by means of the telephoning done by Roussellier direct with Paris. He appeared at the Harrys' tea immedately after 'phoning and

informed me that three proposals had been brought before the Conference without any hope of an agreement, that the English proposed a moratorium without further guarantees and the French propose a moratorium with guarantees. Mussolini's proposal was presented, but the fight will be between the two old contestants without any apparent ground of agreement. America's keen interest, to which the Administration does not fail to give expression, is the only hopeful feature of the present direful situation.

The *Manchester Guardian* says editorially: "The occupation of the Ruhr, the erection of the customs barrier within Germany, the separation of the Rhineland from Germany, and the erection into a buffer state are not truly intended as a means of getting reparations. They are intended to secure France from the dangers of an invasion. The reparation clauses of the treaty are but a pretext. That is what makes a settlement of reparations so difficult."

January 4. Most of the day was passed in stag-hunting east of Cologne with the French pack. This was probably the best day we have had, and yet we did not get our stag, largely because the numerous roe deer frequently diverted the pack from the red stag. We were in the saddle five hours and covered nearly all of the extensive State domain — Königsforst.

The Paris Conference has failed, and Bonar Law, with all his personnel, has left for London. It is reported that the French, Italians, and Belgians will remain in an effort to reach an agreement on which action may be based independent of England. It is known, however, that Belgium is not in sympathy with the aggressiveness that will form the basis of further discussion, and that the views of our Government are largely in accord with those of Britain.

The thought has been expressed that, should France go into the Ruhr, we should leave the Rhine without any exchange of letters, but it may be that a change of thought has taken place in Washington and that such an act might be good reason for our remaining. If France persists in her political policy toward reparations to the detriment of

European peace and trade, it may be that one of these days she will find England and Germany in a commercial pact receiving the sympathy of the United States, with France isolated from her former strongest allies. There can no longer be any question that France's chief aim is security by weakening Germany. This brings up the old question: How far may the exigencies of one state carry on a policy known to be harmful to nearly all others? The limit must eventually be reached. Is it near?

Siegfried Wagner conducted an exceptionally superior concert to-night in the Fest Halle, in which there were five representations from his father, the renowned Richard Wagner, and four from his own compositions. Fine as his works are, the palm must remain with his father. The pieces that appealed to me most were the overture from *Rainulf and Adelasia* by Siegfried and the overture from *Tannhäuser* by Richard.

January 5. Congress is becoming anxious over letting our troops remain on the Rhine, fearing entanglements under present conditions. Senator Reed has proposed a resolution asking for our immediate recall. Undoubtedly the President must be embarrassed by our stay, yet he hesitates to withdraw us just now lest it seem indecorous on his part. A letter from a State Department official received to-day encloses a copy of the President's Press Conference on December 1st, in which he stated that the Administration was in favor of withdrawing these troops, but that everybody, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, and France, had wished our troops to be kept on the Rhine; that our troops had proved a most helpful influence there; that they had acted as a buffer force between contending elements; and that this Government had not wished to have them withdrawn at any time when the withdrawal might be considered a gesture on the part of the Government in relation to any European crisis.

There is a rumor that Cuno has proposed to broaden his Government by incorporating a member of the radical Socialists in the Cabinet and then advocating passive re-

sistance to France's aggression. The outlook for restoration at the beginning of 1923 is indeed gloomy.

January 6. After a conference with Tirard this morning, he expressed the opinion that any differences that might arise in connection with the American zone will be left to him to settle with me. He has never appeared more conciliatory than now. I anticipate no serious complications. He thinks it barely possible France and Germany may reach an agreement; otherwise troops will be sent into the Ruhr. Had England joined, a minimum of troops would have sufficed. Tirard was evidently uneasy over my suggestion of a possible greater accord between England and Germany, with which the United States might not be unsympathetic. He thinks d'Abernon's pro-German activity is very baneful to a settlement of reparations by reason of the encouragement to resistance it affords the German industrialists. He is fully aware of our favorable attitude toward the English plan and recognizes its importance, but believes French public opinion is expressed in Poincaré's statements. In spite of the published friendly statements of the Prime Ministers at the failure in Paris, there must be not a little ill-feeling between the principal countries whose interests are so adversely affected. The kind words are soothing, but not healing.

Our Senate has finally voted for the withdrawal of the A.F. in G. Senator Reed of Missouri led the movement which was backed by most of the Democrats and the Republican irreconcilables. Although it is suggested the President will veto any such measure now, it is probable that our stay on the Rhine is reaching its final stages. The advanced position that the Administration was taking toward active participation toward help for Europe has thus had a set-back, and in consequence the proposal to have full representation on the Reparations Commission has been abandoned for the moment. The result of this will be very depressing to Europe, whose hopes of recovery have recently been strengthened by what seemed to be America's increased interest in her welfare.

CHAPTER XX

THE FRENCH ADVANCE INTO THE RUHR

The French prepare to advance into the Ruhr Basin — Germany is hostile — Tirard's proclamation to people of the Ruhr — Ebert issues protest — Recall of American troops coincides with French advance into the Ruhr — The President's order — Prince Hatzfeldt fears Bolshevism — Germany adopts policy of strong passive resistance — German Ambassadors to France and Belgium are recalled — Economic and financial reprisals — My efforts with High Commissioners to bring about renewal of negotiations — Entire Germany in demonstration of protest and mourning — The mark drops to 13,000 to the dollar — State Department disapproves my desire to secure renewal of negotiations — A long trail of powder is ignited — My reply to the Secretary of State — Cuno expresses his gratitude for spirit of American occupation — German press regrets American departure — Bread costs one thousand marks per loaf — Bitterness tinges senseless economic war — Digging coal with bayonets and felling forests with sabers.

January 7, 1923. A letter from General Degoutte, telling of the concentration preliminary to entering the Ruhr, was delivered to me to-day by Colonel François, who came down from Mainz for the purpose. After ample talk with him, a cablegram to the Secretary of State was drawn up and sent to Stone, to be coded and sent off to-night. The French High Command's plan of concentration will involve sending two divisions from elsewhere in occupied territory, and three divisions from the interior of France, each of about 4500 men. The concentration will be in the region of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort. The troops sent there are in addition to those already on the ground, and will await orders from the French Government before advancing into the Ruhr. The French troops in the American zone will not be moved or affected by this concentration. General Degoutte will endeavor to reduce to a strict minimum the passage of troops by rail in the American area. The Belgian Government is said to be in accord, but it is not yet decided whether that Government will move any troops. The Italians will not participate.

The reason given for bringing troops from the interior

of France is the weakness of the Rhine units in trained men — a greater part being recruits. This movement of five divisions will be the beginning of additional charges against reparations if the Ruhr be occupied. It is incredible that France can take over industries of the Ruhr and maintain customs barriers without large numbers of troops, regardless of a modest beginning.

The text of the Senate resolution bearing on our recall is tantamount to a mandate, though the only method of compelling a return would be a failure to appropriate funds after July 1st, to which date the present appropriations extend. As Commander-in-Chief, the President can direct the stay or movement of troops irrespective of Congress, except in so far as he may be limited by appropriations and statutes.

January 8. In the evening edition of the *Coblenzer Zeitung* is an article from Berlin purporting to express the views of the People's Party concerning the impending crisis. The German Government will consider the advance of the French into the Ruhr as a violation of the Versailles Treaty, which will thereafter be considered null and void. The German Ambassador, Dr. Mayer, will be withdrawn from Paris and diplomatic relations suspended. According to this interesting communication, little or no help may be expected from England, but importance must be attached to the new relations of mutual confidence established between the United States and Germany. It is believed in parliamentary circles that the failure of the Cuno Government to accept France's ultimatum will be approved by a large majority. Whether or not the Social Democrats have Cabinet representation will depend upon the wishes of that party. This article was a subject of much interest at Roussellier's dinner to-night to Rolin, Ryan, and Lausanne, of the *Matin*, here *en route* to the concentration centers. The last-named says France is now reasonably safe from Germany for a period of eight to ten years, and her present great solicitude is to secure money. Rolin seems to be very well pleased over the decision to go into

the Ruhr. Formerly he was more peaceful, and we could generally reckon on finding his views in harmony with ours, whilst during the past year he has been shoulder to shoulder with the French and at times in advance of Tirard.

The Reparations Commission is to declare Germany in default as to the delivery of wood (certain telegraph poles), coal, and cash payments. Bradbury remarked that, since the days of the Trojan horse, wood had not been used for such an atrocious purpose. It was generally believed that Barthou, on becoming president of the Commission, would exercise a greater restraining influence, but there is nothing to indicate a change.

Child writes me from Lausanne that the prognosis of a conference is about as certain an investment as that in a school of mackerel.

Hatzfeldt came over to see me. He is in hopeless despair, believing that Central Europe is going to experience untold misery. He was unable to predict the coming attitude of the industrialists or the workmen of the Ruhr. He gave me a general letter for Happel, whom I am sending into the Ruhr this afternoon to make a report on the probable economic and political results of French occupation.

We are sometimes shocked by the views held by some of our radical officials, such as Senators La Follette and Norris, and yet they are preaching practically the doctrine of James Madison as set forth in the *National Gazette* in January, 1792, for improving the "political society": (1) By establishing political equality among all. (2) By withholding unnecessary opportunities from a few to increase the inequality of property by an immoderate and especially unmerited accumulation of riches. (3) By the silent operation of laws which, without violating the rights of property, reduce extreme wealth toward a state of mediocrity and raise extreme indigence toward a state of comfort.

January 9. Frank Wiborg arrived here to-day from

Paris with Sara, and they are at the house. Treat and Grasty lunched and dined with us, thus making a reunion of old friends.

The attitude throughout Germany toward France's present action is outwardly more hostile than Germany has yet shown. All political parties in Germany evince solidarity against the French move. It is possible that both miners and technical staff in the Ruhr will follow the lead of the German Government. In that event it will be necessary to utilize more than the five divisions now moving. The Belgian flag will appear with the French flag. The customs barrier of 1921 will not be reëstablished. Much consideration is shown the American and British zones.

No one would be more distressed at our recall than our Ambassador at Berlin, who fully recognizes how important to the success of his mission is our continuation here, so strongly desired by Germany.

The following from a well-known French journal is characteristic: "France has the profound conviction that she is right, that treaties are made to be executed, debts to be paid, pledges to be carried out, and conquerors to be indemnified. The opinion on this side of the Channel cannot admit that Germany shall base her prosperity on her own defeat as she would have based her prosperity on her victory."

Up to ten o'clock to-night seventeen military trains have passed through Coblenz and nine more are scheduled to pass through by the same hour to-morrow night. Thus we see the great expense involved in the displacement of even small numbers of troops.

January 10. This morning Rolin attempted to explain to me the wisdom, justice, and even benevolence of the decision of Belgium and France in the proposed action against Germany. He was told that his talk was very beautiful, but that it did not represent the real thoughts of his Government or of himself, and that my object in seeing him was not to discuss that phase of the question. His confused smiles admitted my impeachment.

Unfortunately for Rolin, he had on various occasions in the past expressed contrary views to me; moreover, a high Belgian official had on my last visit to Brussels told me that, if the French went into the Ruhr, Belgium would *have* to go; otherwise his country would be encircled by unfriendly states. Tirard likewise was on the defensive to-day. In my opinion both these Commissioners, especially the latter, foresee the gravity of the results of the enterprise that is being launched by their Governments. There is evidence of uneasiness and wavering, and France seems more disposed to compromise. Both these officials endeavor to make it appear that the control will be exercised with the least possible severity without interference in American and British areas. Tirard says control of coal in the newly occupied part of the Rhine Province will be limited to distribution of reparations coal and collection of all coal taxes. Coal destined for unoccupied Germany will be left in the hands of German officials. There will be no customs barriers on the eastern boundary of old or new occupied territory. Both officials claim to believe that the mild policy intended should win the favor of the industrials and labor of the Ruhr.

Since writing the above, Tirard has given me a copy of the proclamation to the population of the Ruhr. The advance will be made to-morrow. President Ebert's proclamation has been posted throughout the Ruhr.

On returning from the hunt at Schmidtenhöhe, my new aide, Captain Dalton, gave me a telegram from Paris saying that President Harding had ordered the troops home. Immediately thereafter requests from various journalists were received asking for confirmation, and several correspondents in Coblenz, *en route* to the Ruhr, asked to see me. Among them were John Bell, Paris representative of the London *Daily Telegraph*, and M. H. Donohoe, director of the Paris edition of the London *Daily Chronicle*. My theme to them, as it was to Rolin and Tirard, was the advisability of making a final effort to secure a *modus vivendi* that would stop the aggressions under way. When asked

whether they might quote me, my reply was that the preaching of peace could not be wrong or impolitic in the present case.

By 6.30 P.M., Lieutenant Fournier had brought me, "de la part de M. Tirard," a "Proclamation to the People of the Ruhr." This proclamation was probably drawn up at Paris. Under the same cover was an undated decree from military headquarters setting forth general regulations of the occupation.

At 7.30 Hendricks brought me a communication from General Degoutte, marked personal and confidential, which characterizes the Ruhr operation as an economic mission.

President Ebert has issued this proclamation:

> Compatriots! Based upon military power a foreign nation is about to violate the right of self-determination of the German people. Again one of Germany's adversaries invades German territory. The policy of might and force, which since the conclusion of peace has been violating the treaties and trampling on human rights, threatens the principal German economic district, the main source of Germany's labor, the bread of German industry and the entire working classes. The execution of the Peace Treaty will thereby become absolutely impossible. At the same time a system which is vital for the suffering German people will become disorganized. The French move is a continuation of wrong and violence and a violation of the Treaty aimed at a disarmed and defenseless nation. Germany was willing to pay within the limits of its capacity. Without being heard in Paris, it is going to be attacked. Before Europe and the World we accuse the foreign power which, on their own soil, tramples under foot the sacred rights of the German people and denies them their right to live.

In conclusion the proclamation addresses the population of the threatened districts and appeals to it to preserve its loyalty to the Fatherland in the future hours of distress. The proclamation further emphasized the fact that the German Government would do all in its power to shorten the period of occupation. The proclamation was signed by the President as well as by the Chancellor. The absence

of any mention of public order is singularly suggestive of German public opinion.

During the dinner party given for the Wiborgs, one of my aides was several times called to answer phone calls from Paris. It develops that not only is the recall ordered, but that it is to be expedited and that the transport *St. Mihiel* will sail from New York to-morrow for Antwerp to help in taking home what remains of the A.F. in G. No official instructions have been received, but undoubtedly they are on the way.

The sailing of the transport and the receipt of orders of withdrawal will therefore coincide with the publication of the French proclamation and the advance into the Ruhr — four years and two months to the day from the signing of the Armistice. January 11, 1923, will, in my opinion, be a baneful day for the welfare of the world, for present indications are ominously hostile to peace and European restoration.

January 11. Just four years and two months to the day from the signing of the Armistice, we receive this cable order which will end our part of the Watch on the Rhine:

The President has decided to return to the United States immediately all troops of your command except Graves Registration Service. *St. Mihiel* making one trip only will be dispatched from New York about January 12th to Bremen or Hamburg. Cable which you want. You will utilize maximum capacity of this vessel for carrying personnel and all freight except officers' mounts. Excess supplies will be disposed of in accordance with law and regulation. Excess personnel will be transported on commercial liner to New York, arrangements to be made by you. Complete detailed instructions relative to movements were mailed you 9th January, 1923, and are summarized as follows: Approximate capacity of transport: with troops 1600 measure tons return voyage will be to Savannah, then Charleston, then New York. . . . No motor vehicles, paint, oils, greases, subsistence stores, or public animals will be returned, and only such authorized officers' mounts as are now owned by officers desiring to ship. Surplus road-making machinery desired by Department of Agriculture may be transferred to department representative in accordance with instructions of June 8th and 16th, 1922.

That we should have remained here thus long is a surprise to many. Although effort has been made to have it appear that this recall is not intended as a rebuff to French policy, there can be little doubt that the fixing of the date for the march into the Ruhr is believed by French and Germans to have fixed the date of our orders. The English and German press accept this version, whilst part of the Paris press endeavors to show that the simultaneity of the acts is simply a coincidence resulting from decisions arrived at long since.

Tirard apprised me of the contents of a cable from Ambassador Jusserand in Washington, which states that Mr. Hughes declared the recall of the troops was not intended as a reflection on American friendship for France, yet the Secretary of State would not consent to separating the recall from the Ruhr advance by such an interval of time as would prevent the association of the two events from being considered in the relation of cause and effect.

The first phase of the Ruhr occupation took place to-day by the troops going into the region of Essen and reconnoitering within the limits of the Rhine Province toward Bochum. The proclamation to Ruhr people designates the expedition as an "industrial mission," and Degoutte in his official notification to me of the movement says: "I am charged with assuring the security of the economic mission." Although the Ruhr Coal Syndicate carried away its archives to Hamburg, my agent learned from the directors of the Krupp, Haniel, and Stinnes interests that for the present their staffs and laborers will not cease work. No action toward the accomplishment of the second phase of the occupation will take place until after the date of next payment by Germany, January 15th. Until this date no coal taxes will be collected. Tirard informs me that he is certain Poincaré is still disposed to renew negotiations and that the door is left open. I have suggested a meeting of the High Commissioners to-day, hoping that they may collectively sense the opinion that changed conditions warrant an effort to renew negotiations with a view to

finding a satisfactory arrangement. This body is deeply impressed with the seriousness of the present situation.

The State Department has given expression to its views concerning the destruction of the so-called "strategic railways" in the Rhineland under date of January 6th.

Presumably our participation in matters of this sort ends with this communication, yet it is very satisfactory that the Department shares my views. They are at variance with those of the Conference of Ambassadors in which our representative there seemed to be in accord.

January 12. On my proposal to renew negotiations Hatzfeldt at first thought Germany could not negotiate with countries that had violated the Treaty of Versailles and infringed on sovereignty by the Ruhr aggression. After considerable discussion of the present status, with no indication that it would fail to grow worse and cause great misfortune, not only to Europe, but the entire world, he expressed the opinion that his country had always consented to negotiate and that under proper conditions it would probably do so now. When asked what would happen should France later on see fit, in the execution of increased sanctions, to divert all the Ruhr coal from Germany, he answered that Germany would become Bolshevik and that Bolshevism would go faster among an industrial people than it had among the rural people of Russia. That, too, was called to his attention as further reason for bringing about some sort of arrangement now.

In speaking of the recall of the German Ambassadors from France and Belgium, he said he was momentarily expecting the arrival of instructions that would restrict his relations with the Commission to the American and British Departments. Hatzfeldt confirms the press reports that his country is bent on a strong passive resistance.

The meeting of Tirard, Rolin, Kilmarnock, and myself, called by me to consider the memorandum handed each one yesterday afternoon, took place in Tirard's office this afternoon. Such a move on my part could be made only

in a private capacity and not as an official designated by the Government to undertake it. All had given the matter careful thought and all showed a very sympathetic attitude toward my initiative, each realizing, however, as I do, that the discussion of the renewal of negotiations between the Allies and Germany is not the business of the Commissioners either individually or as a body. But our close contact with and knowledge of questions of the Rhineland and Germany, and the way in which the Commission is brought into relations with the Ruhr occupation by the French plan, should cause our views to merit consideration. Each agreed to bring the matter before his Government with an expression of opinion. The subject was all the more delicate for Tirard, and likewise for Rolin, because of the declaration in the Chamber yesterday by Poincaré that France stands ready to talk with Germany and the Allies.

Each one drew up a rough draft of what he proposed to send and promised me a copy immediately. Kilmarnock produced a telegram just received from his Government, which demanded his abstention from discussion of matters at the Commission bearing on the French plan of action.

A member of the Commission who was in Cologne to-day had talks with Adenauer, President of the Prussian Upper House, and Herr Silberberg, head of the brown coal industry and a member of the Stinnes group. The former foresees the destruction of Germany by France and a return of the Napoleonic days for Europe, leaving only England, France, and Russia as the principal states. His pessimism carries him to the point of believing that even England will drop unless she makes terms with Russia. Silberberg, on the other hand, thinks the opposition shown France will eventually win out by depreciating French finances, though it will cost the German industrialists very dearly.

At Essen to-day the French authorities summoned the directors of the Krupp, Stinnes, and Thyssen interests for a conference, but none of them appeared. Later they

called together the labor leaders in an effort to get coöperation and information that might help to supplement the loss of the coal records carried away, but this move was of no avail. They all refused to give any information bearing on the matter, and thus the "ecomonic mission" is confronted with difficulty in the very beginning, by not knowing the details of production and distribution. Contention will be made that these are not military measures, but that the military forces will only furnish necessary protection in the application of "economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals" to be applied pursuant to the provisions of Paragraph 18, Annex II, Part VII, of the Versailles Treaty. It will therefore be contended that these are measures contemplated by the treaty "and which Germany agrees as not to regard as act of war."

The President of the Board of the University of Bonn and the Agricultural College of Bonn-Poppelsdorf have forwarded a joint message to the most important foreign universities — French universities excluded — calling attention to the serious consequences which a policy of force on the part of France would be bound to have.

A telegram from Washington appearing in the *Coblenzer Zeitung* states that Secretary Weeks announced that it would be left to me whether to return with the troops or to remain on the Rhine to safeguard American interests. It would be surprising to hear that the State Department approves my action taken to-day in calling the meeting in behalf of the renewal of negotiations. If any good comes of it — and sometimes a thought from an unexpected source is helpful — the risk of having exceeded the limits of my duties will have been well taken.

January 13. The reports of the session of the Commission yesterday by the respective Commissioners to their Governments have been prepared. Whether any important result is obtained will depend upon thoughts already existing in the various chancelleries. In any event, the matter has again been suggested by individuals who are impressed with the gravity of present conditions.

Daily it is becoming evident that the published mild procedure of the "economic mission," to which passive resistance is made in the Ruhr and strong protest everywhere in Germany, is giving way to the customary occupation by force. Tirard's statement that the boundary of the Rhine Province would not be crossed before the 15th fails by the occupation to-day of Bochum.

In my opinion passive resistance, if continued, will cause increased sanctions by France, even to diverting absolutely essential coal supply from Germany, causing great suffering and possibly Bolshevistic disorders. Welfare of humanity seems to demand every possible effort at conciliation before the second stage of the advance is fully accomplished. Although German sentiment has declared against negotiations with "violators of the Versailles Treaty and transgressors of German sovereignty," Hatzfeldt says Germany would negotiate.

Tirard sent me this morning this clipping inspired by him from the *Echo du Rhin* of to-day:

> It is with sincere and profound regret that the High Commission, the officials of the High Commission, the troops of the French Army of the Rhine, and the entire French colony of the Rhine see the last American contingent depart. The friendship, which had been cemented on the French fields of battle between the valiant Yanks and our Poilus during the course of the war, has continued during peace where the best accord has existed between the two sister republics occupying the Rhineland side by side. The officers and soldiers of the French Army of the Rhine, particularly those who have been garrisoned at Coblence with the Americans, will preserve an excellent and cordial remembrance of their comrades from the other side of the Atlantic. These regrets will be specially felt for the eminent soldier and accomplished gentleman, General Allen, whose extreme affability and very great courtesy have been appreciated by all who have met him in the course of his mission among the Allies.

Boyden telegraphs that the French are going to make new moratorium proposals. This, in conjunction with the deferring of the payment of the half-billion gold marks until January 31st, indicates a movement suggestive of a

deep subjective study on the part of some of the principal actors in this terrible tragedy.

Grasty, who has had difficulty in forming an estimate of the probable future resulting from the incursion in the Ruhr, finally wrote a careful article setting forth France's diplomatic success and military victory, all preliminary to French Continental domination. But when it was suggested to him that, with the non-approval of the United States and England, the diplomatic triumph is not brilliant, and that, since there was no opposing force, the military victory is a minimum, he modified his article in a material way. However, before it was finally sent the change in date of payment and the intended new moratorium proposals caused him to suspect that France is awakened to her dangers and wants to reopen negotiations. Possibly my *geste* here may not have been wholly in vain.

A telegram from Washington proposes my newly acquired aide as military attaché at Warsaw.

January 14. The Sunday hunt was somewhat smaller than usual, owing to the absence of officers who are busy packing their effects preparatory to sailing on the *St. Mihiel.* It was first stated I would select either Bremen or Hamburg for the port of departure, then instructions designated Antwerp. Since there seems to be no railway disturbance in Germany, and in the interest of economy, I have cabled requesting that Bremen be used, and also that twenty-five superior chargers, horse-show horses, and polo mounts be sent home with the authorized private mounts.

Mr. Houghton sent Colonel Cox over here to ascertain whether it is my wish to remain here after the troops are gone. The German Government feels compensated, in a measure, for our departure by the blow it considers was given France by our recall, but it hopes that my services continue here at the Commission. Before taking action our Berlin Ambassador wants an expression from me. Both Tirard and Kilmarnock express a desire to have me remain, but thus far Rolin's views are unknown. There is serious doubt in my mind whether my influence without a

zone and troops would be sufficient to justify remaining even long enough to observe and serve as a witness during the serious phases of the present crisis.

The French report quieter conditions at Essen, but political and official Germany continues to manifest great hostility. To-morrow about noon a half-hour's strike is called for entire Germany in the nature of protest and as a manifestation of mourning. Due to the short period of inaction involved, I have decided not to prevent this act in this zone and the British are going to do the same in theirs. Probably the French and Belgians will forbid it.

Degoutte, with his usual thoughtfulness and consideration, sent a staff officer down from Düsseldorf with a letter apprising me of the intention of taking over Bochum (previous report about this city a mistake) and Recklinghausen to-morrow. And thus the second phase of the operation of the "civil mission of control" begins. In the mean time France has found it necessary to increase her taxes throughout by twenty per cent. Neither the franc nor mark has undergone any serious decline during the past few days.

J. wants to know whether she will be able to make a hurried trip to Sicily with Clarine and return in time for the sailing: an insatiable traveler.

January 15. In spite of this day of German mourning, the attendance at the performance of *Rienzi*, Wagner's oldest opera, was normal. It is reported that the German Government has suggested the recall of the French and Belgian Ambassadors from Berlin, giving as a reason that it cannot be responsible for their safety. If the Versailles Treaty, already declared violated, could be considered as abrogated by Germany, then this state would have no reparations to pay France and Belgium and practically no debt. And since the mark has dropped to 13,000, her total obligations reckoned in gold become almost a nullity. Should present conditions as to cleavage between the war partners continue, Germany, having only France and Belgium to contend with, will become continually bolder.

In acting under her interpretation of *respective* in the treaty, France has undertaken a measure that will have serious results for all Europe for many years.

A development at Essen to-day shows the straits which the Control Commission is reaching. The mine-owners declared their willingness to deliver coal as heretofore to France and Belgium, but not on account of reparations. The coal would be supplied to those states at prices fixed by the Reich Coal Union, provided eighty per cent be paid ten days before delivery and the rest three days afterwards. They also added that the production would be considerably less. In treating with the heads of the labor unions, the Engineer Control Commission had still less satisfaction and was bluntly asked what the invading countries proposed when the lack of employment in unoccupied Germany became acute. In other words, France must now pay for coal that she formerly got on reparations account. It therefore remains for her to sell it to others at an advanced price. All this must prove agreeably interesting to British coal owners.

The occupation is extending, friction is increasing, the mark is dropping, and conditions are growing daily more serious.

January 16. The Lithuanian forces, by marching into the Memel Neutral Zone, are complicating the present crisis by causing Poland to propose action in France's behalf. The Germans, however, have not failed to anticipate some demonstration by Poland, probably in Silesia, which they claim would not inspire any fear by its military character.

The Ruhr situation is now recognized as a military one, and thus the mission, which has been vicariously designated industrial, economic, engineer, and technical, has become what every one should have suspected from the beginning. The homœopathic treatment that many devoutly hoped would be effective has given way to allopathic. There is even talk of an advance to Berlin and of the necessity of establishing a new currency for the Ruhr, possibly a Rhine franc or thaler.

January 18. Developments of the French advance have been very fast during the past two days and presumably the limits of control must be soon reached in spite of the wild talk of going to Berlin. Friction with the industrial magnates in the Ruhr is increasing, as they claim orders from Berlin forbid compliance with the instructions of the occupying forces. Thyssen and the representatives of Krupp and Stinnes are about to be brought before a court-martial.

My efforts to bring before the several chancelleries directly concerned the extreme necessity of a renewal of negotiations have met with an unsympathetic reception in Washington and apparently in France, as indicated in a cablegram received yesterday, signed "Hughes." I am instructed to refrain from expressing any opinions or presenting any plans in relation to the existing delicate situation without explicit instructions from the Department, and to take no action outside of the essential military duties in winding up. I am informed that the French Government does not view with favor my suggestion as to the renewal of negotiations, which is considered inopportune, and that the American Government does not desire any suggestion by its representatives at this time without the directions of the Department.

It was a bold and presumptuous move on my part, but the consciousness of the cause in which it was made is worth something. After careful consideration, I have replied to the Secretary of State, who is justly entitled to be free from suggestions or acts that may incommode him in his dispositions during the present great crisis. My declared private and unofficial act was based on the close personal relations existing between the civil and military heads of the countries represented here and myself, and upon the hope that even this feeble effort might possibly help avert the untold misery that is being put on the population of Europe, especially innocent children, for the next generations.

There never was any thought that the question was

within the competence of the High Commission, that any unusual power or authority was vested in me, or that the State Department was not following the wisest procedure in this fateful tragedy. The thought that possibly an expression from here, where we see, in the historical background of the Seven Years' War and the Thirty Years' War, a repetition of history, was and is uppermost in my mind. It is no idle suggestion that a trail of powder has been lighted that will extend to the Russian border and perhaps beyond.

My solicitude for France, into the heart of which my blood relations extend, constitutes one of my greatest apprehensions. It is a logical deduction that the divergence between England and France will grow with the French advance and the increase of holdings. The great German block must eventually be successful against France, regardless of her present military strength. The movement actually under way is creating implacable passions. The prairie has been set on fire and the wind of hate is fanning it. What will extinguish it?

It was simply absurd to imagine that such an incursion as that of the so-called economic or industrial commission could be made in the proposed homœopathic manner. There was never a possibility of such an outcome and now the allopathic treatment has begun. The suffering of the innocent, born and unborn, will follow as it always does in the trail of senseless wars. France, with her coterie of national friends, but without the moral support of her two greatest war associates, may find a Russo-German opposition that will increase the toll of European suffering.

"These thoughts motived my action," concludes my letter to the Secretary of State, "and now that they have been laid before you, I beg to say that it is a deep regret for me that my humane intentions should have annoyed you, and furthermore that your observations will be my guide."

In the meetings of the Commission to-day Kilmarnock read instructions from his Government stating that its interests would be best served by having him remain on the

Commission with the abstention mentioned previously, and that sanctions might be established in the British zone as long as the responsibility and duties of the military command were not interfered with. While proposed ordinances were being discussed, it was noteworthy that only Tirard and Rolin were given copies. At its sitting this morning, the High Commission promulgated three ordinances regarding: (1) The seizure of the coal tax in the occupied territories. (2) The seizure of customs receipts in the occupied territories. (3) The seizure of certain pledges in connection with the management and exploitation of forest resources in the occupied territories. The British High Commissioner was present, but refrained from voting. The Italian representative was also present.

Prince Hatzfeldt came to my headquarters to-day bearing a letter from the German Chancellor. Handing it to me, he stated that, as President Thiers and Marshal MacMahon had given General Manteuffel, charged with the German troops of occupation in France, a letter commending the justice with which the General had administered his charge, so he, Hatzfeldt, was honored in delivering this one from Chancellor Cuno. The Reichskommissar was visibly moved when he had finished his remarks confirming the contents of the letter. In thanking the Chancellor through him for this formal expression touching our service, and him for his gracious remarks, I stated that the desire to make the burden of occupation as light as possible had always been uppermost in my mind, and that my policy had been based on the necessity of the reestablishment of peace, restoration, and trade. It is, however, very pleasing to have this unexpected, formal recognition of our efforts:

HERR GENERAL:

In accordance with the communications of your Government, the day when the last American troops will leave the occupied German territory on the Rhine is imminent. I seize this opportunity to tell you that the German Government appreciates highly the spirit in which you have administered the authority

vested in you. By maintaining the proper relations between your troops and the population, by non-interference in purely German political affairs, you have materially lightened in the section occupied by your troops the depression and the hardships which are unavoidably connected with the occupation.

Accept, Herr General, the assurance of my sincerest respect.

(Signed) CUNO

Perhaps this extract from the *Berliner Tageblatt* gives an average of the comments and estimates made of the American troops by the German press:

Almost at the same hour that the French moved into the Ruhr District, the report came from Washington to the effect that the American troops would leave the Rhine. Thus, while the most disliked troops of occupation gain room, the occupation easiest to be borne is terminated. The Coblenz bridgehead will not be released by reason of this; instead, for every American soldier there will be ten French, and first among them General Lerond, who it is expected will have control in Coblenz.

In spite of the many points of superiority possessed by the Americans over the French, still their presence in Coblenz was a heavy burden for the population (extremely exacting in their requisitions and demands for billets, the Americans were also "victors"), although more considerate in enforcing their will. If the German population sees the parting with regret in spite of this, the reason for it is primarily the fact that the German forgets bluntness and uncouthness much more readily than a policy of pin-pricks proceeding from chicanery. Besides, the instinct of the people sensed the natural warm-heartedness and kindness of these tall, tanned chaps, who thought but simply and who dealt without duplicity and with whom one could speak much better as humans and brothers than with the elegant, reserved Englishmen in Cologne.

Under these circumstances, the extensive charitable activities carried out by the Americans in Coblenz had to call forth a genuine and natural feeling of gratitude. Also in this case the people felt that the American donations at Christmas and the many cases of personal aid extended to pensioners, widows, and sick people were works of love of one's neighbor and not bribes offered to traitors to their country. The American sympathies of the Coblenz business people rested upon a more prosaic basis, as they realized great gains from the troops' eagerness to buy.

The completely changed appearance of the old Prussian garrison city, in which tea-rooms, motion-picture houses, jewelry and novelty stores follow one after the other, is evidence that the Americans left the greater part of their pay in Coblenz.

January 19. At dinner last night with Princess Radziwill in her small villa at Rolandseck, I had an interesting talk with the Duke of Ahrenberg, former member of the Reichstag and a far more clever man than previous meetings with him had suggested. The Belgians have such an antipathy for him that it will probably be long before he will be able to put his foot on Belgian soil. His views concerning the former friendly attitude of the Rhinelanders toward France, shortly after the Armistice, for example, confirm the opinion expressed by Rathenau to me on the same subject. He thinks all that has changed to a hatred that is shared by all Germans. Yet he thinks the upper classes would greatly prefer seeing the French in Berlin than the Russians.

The industrials are following Cuno's lead, but in the end they must yield to French force, and France will have her day in Germany again, only to be out after her energy has been spent. The situation just now is specially serious because to-night the occupying forces are in possession of Ahrenberg's property about forty kilometres from the garrisoned city of Münster. Although the Reichswehr have orders to make no resistance, they will probably fire on the French if they continue the advance into Westphalia's capital. The spirit of resentment and anger is so great that the governing authorities recognized the necessity of directing it to prevent serious demonstrations and disorders. As a result the *Trauertag*, or day of mourning, with its half-hour of demonstration, was decided upon.

The French and Belgian Commissioners seem to be satisfied with the march of events, notwithstanding the apparent persistence of the German Government in its passive resistance. They think the increased sanctions will bring the recalcitrants to reason and that in consequence Cuno would be able to make more acceptable proposals.

Both are most gracious and desirous of doing everything possible to show their esteem for the American occupation in its final stages. It occurs to me, however, that they fully recognize that little or no support, moral or physical, may be expected from the United States in the present great venture and that probably we might just as well not be on the Rhine — all this in spite of assurances of regret over the departure and of hope that I remain.

The following from *Le Matin* gives a fair estimate of the attitude of the French press and probably French public opinion toward our departure:

> The 1200 "Sammies" who were living at Coblenz and who were clinging to the hope that their fatherly American Senate would forget them are thoroughly "fed up." They were living in the midst of comfort and ease; they had their golf course and football grounds; life was made the easier for them by reason of the fact that the dollar is worth 10,000 to 11,000 marks and that they get their pay in dollars. They were regarded with favor by the population — so much so that a large number of them married Rhenish girls and took over the duties of *paterfamilias*. If the time-honored American custom of holding a referendum had been applied in their case, an enormous majority would have voted for remaining in the calm sector of Coblenz.
>
> General Allen, whom I had the honor of sitting beside at table on Monday last, is at least as regretful as his men. He had a real and comprehensible pride in seeing the star-spangled flag of his country waving from the other side of the Rhine, on the romantic fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. He was respected and liked everywhere, more especially at the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission, where his relations with M. Tirard never for a single moment ceased to be most close and cordial. Real regret is felt at his departure, a regret which is paralleled by that which he himself feels in going.

Rothmere's papers, headed by the *Daily Mail*, are strongly upholding the French policy toward Germany. It seems to be a question of getting money from an unwilling debtor, and it also seems to be assumed that labor will produce more under fear of the bayonet than under the hope of profit. The manifestoes of Cuno to the German people and especially to the inhabitants of all the occupied

regions, published in to-day's papers, clearly show the situation is not improved.

Tirard says there is no intention to advance beyond the limits of the fifty kilometre neutral zone. French conception of status in the Ruhr, not unlike that in the Saar, has disappeared with continued passive resistance and the economic war based on the German Government's stand. There are already 50,000 troops in the Ruhr.

As the date of our departure approaches, requests for aid from individuals as well as charitable homes and institutions increase. When butter is 2500 marks per pound and a loaf of bread 1000 marks, there must be hunger.

January 20. An order of the German Government sent by Chancellor Cuno directs all German officials in occupied territory to refuse to obey orders given by French and Belgian authorities in the execution of ordinances of the High Commission taking over proceeds from customs, mines, and forests in occupied territories. The German Commissioner summoned before the High Commission had no official knowledge of such order, but stated unofficially that he believed the order had been given by his Government. Then, speaking as French High Commissioner, Tirard told Hatzfeldt he would remove all Rhineland officials who refuse to coöperate, replacing them with others who would. He also stated, "Then you will have your Rhineland Republic."

The High Commission this morning relieved from office and deported from occupied territory Regierungspräsident of Wiesbaden and various officials in the Belgian zone for refusal to obey orders given pursuant to recent sanctions. The officials of the Finanzamt at Cologne have refused to obey orders of Allied officials regarding their records and funds, stating they were acting under orders from the German Government.

The twenty-five thousand miners of the state-owned mines in the Ruhr, one fifteenth of the total, went on strike this afternoon in protest against the arrest of their manager by the military authorities and because of the

continuance of French soldiers in the mines. The German Government has also ordered all railroad officials to refuse to transport reparations coal, and thus one hostile move follows another in this economic war. This last will probably result in militarizing the railroads in all the occupied territory.

The Reichskommissar thinks German public opinion is so enraged that it would not now permit his Government to negotiate with France unless guarantees against future military aggressions were included. He entertains the belief that resistance will be effective in thwarting France's designs.

The Russian Soviet Government protests against the occupation of the Ruhr: "In this fateful day the Russia of the workers and peasants raises its voice again in passionate protest against the insane policy of imperialistic France and its allies."

A deputy of the German Commissioner, after reading the Russian protest to a member of my staff, exclaimed: "If no powerful Western Government will help us, is it not clear that we shall be thrown into the arms of the East!"

The Russian address was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. My representative pointed out that this was a conservative newspaper and that one did not see in it articles contrary to the opinions and policies of the German Government. He asked if Germany was trying to use Bolshevism as a bogey to frighten France, and then observed that the measure would not have a chance to succeed unless Bolshevism became real, and if that happened Germany would be undone. It was suggested that suicide as a protest was not practiced in the West, and the German deputy replied that the destruction of Germany would result in the destruction of France at the same time, and that Germans were fast approaching the state of mind to suffer the one in order to bring about the other.

The situation has become very tense and gives indications of greater bitterness on both sides with each additional measure followed by a counter-measure. Should the

threatening strike of all the Ruhr mines take place with the consequent failure in coal production, or should the coal be diverted from the industries of non-occupied Germany, the unemployed will be a tremendous burden on the Government. Not only Germany and France will be sufferers, but all of Europe will feel the heavy hand of this senseless economic war.

Boyden seems to be coming in for his turn at the hands of the radicals of the Senate, headed by Hiram Johnson. In his letter to Grasty there is a suggestion that he would like to be relieved. While Mr. Hughes defends him, he says Boyden may have at times been overzealous. In all this we see France gaining another point by her bold and persistent policy of the preferred creditor.

January 21. France may be in the saddle in Germany for a long term of years, though Tirard told me to-night that an understanding with Germany by the 31st or perhaps a little later, on the basis of a big internal loan and a moratorium of two years, is not precluded. It is also significant that the loan must be internal. Such a loan would fall largely on the industrials whom France considers her arch-enemies.

January 22. As usual in times of crisis, exaggerated rumors fill the air such as were current to-day concerning riots in Cologne and the resignation of Secretary Hughes.

Tirard asked me to lunch with him and his guests, Tannéry and Margerie of the Ministry of Finance, but, as I was previously engaged with my own house guests, we compromised on the basis of their coming to us for tea. Tannéry, who was president of the army costs conference, spoke with much assurance of what France is doing and would do to force Germany to submission. If her ruin were caused, it would be her own fault and a matter of indifference to France. However chaotic Germany might become, there is no danger of Bolshevism because the Germans would never permit it, and the talk of this Russian disease is simply an old threat to stay measures essential for France's existence. I suggested to him that Germany's

fear of Bolshevism is real and that there are Germans who would prefer to see French rather than Russians in Berlin. He ridiculed the thought of the French going to Berlin, claiming that the Ruhr coal lever is sufficient to force through any plans his country contemplates. He insisted that, since Germany could gain nothing by her present policy, there would be a yielding. On this he may be right. He seemed wholly to disregard the psychology of the situation — the possible acts of a people who feel enraged to the point of serious self-infliction of injuries in order to bring injury upon their adversaries.

Hendricks brought over this morning a *brouillon* with blank dates to be filled in by me, stating that on the departure of the troops the American zone would be turned over to General Marty. This was a rather crude procedure, and when asked whence it came, though it was headed Düsseldorf, he answered from General Degoutte. Perhaps the latter never saw it. Hendricks was thanked for bringing it around and was told to leave it, and later in the day I sent a letter to General Degoutte, informing him of various details of our withdrawal.

Under the conditions it would seem to be the part of good judgment to turn over the area soon after the flag is taken down from Ehrenbreitstein on the 24th. Should there be serious disturbances in this zone and should I attempt to suppress them by French troops, the "repercussion" in the United States would not be limited to the enemies of the Administration.

The Chief Burgomaster of the city of Coblenz has sent me this copy of what he describes as a statement of information for the American press. It is worthy of the conservatism that he has displayed throughout our occupation in the many difficult situations that have arisen:

> At the time of the conclusion of the Armistice the city of Coblenz realized that every occupation by a foreign power would entail extraordinary burdens and serious impairments. The American authorities have endeavored to make the situation bearable. During the last couple of years the working to-

gether of the city administration with the American authorities has been carried on with less friction. Above all things the citizens were pleased that the authorities of occupation refrained from exercising influence upon political affairs — as far as this was permitted by the ordinances — and permitted the administration a free hand in the execution of German laws. At many times the troops and American welfare organizations have, out of humane consideration to relieve most severe suffering, contributed foodstuffs and clothing, especially to children. In general the relations of the German population to the Americans were animated by the endeavor that true peace should unite Germany and the United States. The general mass of the people wishes the American troops a happy return in order that they may disseminate the truth concerning German ways and manners in their own country.

A belated letter sent in some diplomatic pouch, dated December 16, 1922, was received to-day from John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, containing information that would have been more interesting a couple of weeks ago: "There is nothing but approval of your course in the handling of the Rhine situation, and no doubt here of the value it has been in maintaining a suitable equilibrium. Personally, I have had strong doubts about continuing to leave the troops there because of the possibility of the Ruhr movement and the possibility of our becoming embarrassed by that matter. If such a movement is undertaken, I have an idea that the President will decide to withdraw the troops and I think you would do well to have that in mind."

There can be no doubt that he has long favored the withdrawal of our forces, but has yielded to the wishes of the State Department, which seemed to believe that our stay was still useful in its scheme of foreign dealings. It is hardly accurate to speak of our foreign policy as long as the Senate is so potent in influencing the continuity of the best prepared plans.

My acknowledgment of the letter from the Reichschancellor, too long delayed, was written and delivered to-day to Prince Hatzfeldt for transmission. Neither the Chancel-

lor's letter nor mine will be given publicity for the present unless it is done by him. No secrecy on either side has been imposed, but it will probably be equally preserved by both.

The American Senate and press are discussing Boyden's activities as "unofficial representative" of the Reparations Commission, one Senator going so far as to demand his recall. Boyden himself seems to desire this, but he prefers that it be based on his proposed solution, asked for by Barthou, of the reparations questions. In a letter to Grasty he says: "As you will see, it is quite intimate, and, of course, very confidential, though you are welcome to the point of view. I should have no objection at all to your showing it to General Allen, for whom I have the greatest respect and liking, and who has been more or less in the same position as I — namely, sending advice across the Atlantic with about the same effect as if he had tried to throw a feather across."

January 23. The economic war continues with increasing bitterness, fresh resistance being met by new sanctions. Digging coal with bayonets and felling forests with sabers is producing more hatred than reparations. In spite of all that, Rolin claimed to-day at Tirard's reception for the departing forces, to be very optimistic concerning the outcome. He sees only success for his country and France, acting without the approval of a greater part of the world. In congratulating him on his sixtieth birthday, I wished he might live to see the end of the present struggle and the direful results from it. Dell' Abbadessa, the Italian delegate, who has assumed a little more importance under recent developments, was there, gracious as ever. Rarely is he seen anywhere. The attitude of his country set forth in Mussolini's declarations, approving moral but not military compulsion to secure reparations, leaves him in about the same status as before. His plump salary also remains unchanged.

The information given me by Tirard a few days ago concerning a moratorium for Germany is now given pub-

licity in the French press as Poincaré's plan. Evidently there is a recognition on the part of France that there is no such thing as dealing temperately with the Ruhr situation. The grave dangers that are eventuating from the recent aggressions, stubbornly resisted by Germany, seem for the moment to have caused some alarm.

I have cabled the State Department that the situation in the Ruhr has become critical. All mines of which leading employees have been arrested are at a standstill. The Government, employers, and workers seem to be determined to resist and a considerable strike is imminent. The High Commission has given all personnel connected with enforcement of sanctions authority to make requisitions on the German people and Government. Tirard wrote Hatzfeldt telling him additional sanctions would be imposed if money for payment of troops is not forthcoming. Regierungspräsident of Speyer and Director Finanzamt of Aix have been removed from office by the High Commission and expelled with their families from occupied territory. Kilmarnock and Godley apprise me of difficulties British troops are having under present conditions in Cologne. The High Commission, assisted by representatives of French and Belgian Finance Ministries, is discussing the issue of a new money in occupied territory either by local banks under compulsion or by allied banks. Kilmarnock abstains from most of the Commission's decisions. Belgian and British Commissioners ask to be excused from witnessing the lowering of the American flag at Ehrenbreitstein to-morrow. The mark has dropped two thousand points in twenty minutes — probably due to strike news.

In a very carefully written article in the *Coblenzer Zeitung* to-day, the editor has set forth at length an estimate of the American forces in their relation to this country, from which this is extracted:

> When the troops of the Union marched into Coblenz on that dreary 7th of December, 1918, they appeared in the victor's feeling of triumph, namely, that of victory which their entry into the World War had decided against us. For the others,

including those who are now seeking to reap the fruits of the victory on the Continent, we would have finished — we had already so far finished — but the overpowering might of America tore final victory from our hands, tired from the struggle of four years. Under the effects of the war psychosis, of an anti-German sentiment nurtured by well-planned press campaigns carried on for years, the first weeks and months were passed, and for the time being the mentality of troops fresh from the battle-field determined the relations with the population. But then, however, the feeling changed; the strange guests soon realized that the German population, especially the Rhenish people, are quite different from the distorted picture of them drawn by Northcliffe and his ilk. With this realization, the kind-hearted characteristics of the American psyche and, in the case of many, the voice of German blood, came to the fore.

A substantial part of the credit for the establishment of bearable relations between the forces of occupation and the civil population is due General Allen, Commander of the American Army of Occupation, and his officers. Their correct conduct showed an endeavor to grant the utmost freedom to political and private activities and to spare economic life from molestation and harmful interference, within the limits drawn by their instructions and the necessity incident to the occupation as well as consideration for their Allies. Upon his departure, he has claim to a recognition similar to that accorded General von Manteuffel, Commander-in-Chief of the German troops of occupation in France, by Presidents Thiers and MacMahon when they praised his impartial, just, and humane administration of the occupied French provinces in their own handwriting.

From this viewpoint, the policy of the Washington Cabinet in ending General Allen's mission just in that moment when its continuance was so necessary, when the Rhenish people in their greatest distress so urgently needed a protecting and moderating balance weight to offset the effects of an unrestrained political and industrial imperialism, is all the more deplorable.

CHAPTER XXI

LEAVE-TAKINGS

My final message to the American Forces in Germany — Lowering of the American flag on Fort Ehrenbreitstein — Coblenz in gloom as American troops depart — International farewells — Expulsion of German officials — American zone is turned over to General Marty of the French army — Details of Germany's passive resistance — Comparative conditions in Saar and Ruhr regions — German sabotage — Germans claim that the French advance into the Black Forest is an act of war — American officers reluctant to return to high prices at home — The High Commission's formal farewell to us — Russian refugees at Wiesbaden — Degoutte's authority enlarged — Bonar Law and Lord Curzon express England's attitude of benevolent neutrality — France opposed to mediation — France desires complete security from further attack — Final leave-takings — "Arrived as enemies; leaving as friends."

January 24, 1923. My final message to the American Forces in Germany appeared in the last issue of the *Amaroc News* published in Coblenz to-day. There will, however, be issues on board the transport St. Mihiel homeward-bound. I said:

To-day at noon the American flag will be lowered on Ehrenbreitstein, thus marking the end of the occupation of the Rhine Province by the American troops.

For four years the forces of the American Army have held their place on the Rhine beside their allies and have earnestly striven toward restoring peace under the terms of the adopted treaties. With deep affection in our hearts for our allies and sympathy for our former foes, our highest ambition here has been to act with such justice toward all as would inure to a lasting peace in Europe.

Since the departure of the Third Army on July 2, 1919, the American Forces in Germany have occupied the American zone, including the Coblenz bridgehead, which they have continuously supervised and controlled. All through this period there has been a consistent effort on our part to execute this important task with a maximum of effectiveness and a minimum of hardship on the population. My instructions to the command with regard to their correct personal conduct and considerate attitude toward the local population have been rewarded. The correctness of your conduct in general and the high standards of military effi-

ciency set by the various organizations have made it possible to leave behind us an enviable record for justice, fairness, and military excellence.

I am confident that this spirit of justness and fairness applauded by our Allies will in the days to come prevent any feelings of bitterness or rancor toward us in the minds of those among whom we have lived and will mark a forward step in the accomplishment of a genuine peace. It is therefore with much pleasure and pride that I congratulate the officers, soldiers, and the attached civilian personnel of this command on the part you have taken in the stirring events of the last four years and particularly on the eminently successful execution of your mission. You may always carry in your hearts the consciousness of a duty well done.

General Degoutte's customary thoughtful messages to the 8th Infantry and his regrets to me at not being permitted to leave the Ruhr to be present at the flag ceremony on Ehrenbreitstein have been received. This ceremony at the Rhine Gibraltar at noon was witnessed by two Commissioners, five French generals, and numerous correspondents and camera experts. The British and Belgian Commissioners by declining to be present expressed in a most delicate manner their disapproval of our withdrawal.

The troops taking part in the ceremony were Companies D and M, colors and band, of the 8th Infantry, and a French detachment of two infantry sections of fifty men each with band.

Headed by the highest French officials, a gloom is expressed in word and feature by all of our Gallic friends over our departure. This is by no means wholly personal, but a recognition that, in our going, whatever moral support we may have been giving by our presence has been lost. Tears were in evidence, not only at the lowering of the flag, but at the lunch at my house, at which there were present Colonel Harts, Major Peek, Colonel Hossfeld, Major Downer, Colonel Sheen, Colonel Bates, Major Thiele, General Marty, General Mordacq, General Semaire, General Jacquemot, M. Tirard, M. Roussellier, Baron Rolin-Jaequemyns, Count de Liedekerke, Lord Kilmarnock, Colonel Stone, Mr. Manton Davis, Commendatore dell'

Abbadessa, Colonel Jeffries, Captain de Hase, and Captain Hendricks.

The closing ceremony of the day was the passage of the departing troops between lines of troops to the station. There they were drawn up and inspected by me, assisted by the High Commissioners and French generals, for the last time. Then they were marched on to their two train sections, and all left on scheduled time. To me the outstanding feature of this farewell is the genuine sorrow depicted in the faces of both allies and Germans.

January 25. The fast march of events is showing conclusively that the thoughts that filled the minds of Clemenceau, Foch, and others, regarding the Rhine as the eastern boundary of France in the discussions antedating the Versailles Treaty, are being put into execution. The report of Dariac, refuted by Poincaré, has already been carried out. Probably within a few days the Ruhr Basin will have been virtually detached from unoccupied Germany by the customs boundary, and possibly some one, such as Weygand, put in command as High Commissioner. The unity of Germany, which had become much impaired, has been greatly strengthened by all this, and thus Poincaré may be put on a pedestal with Bismarck as a creator of German unity.

With the lowering of the flag at Ehrenbreitstein, the population of this city assumed that my control had ceased, and therefore certain students gave vent to their feelings by ransacking the offices of the Dorten journal, *Der Rheinländer*, and others by making mild demonstrations. Dr. Russell, the Oberburgermeister, had placards put up in the city stating that American control had not ceased. A few American M.P.'s sufficed to disperse all "demonstrators," but not until the French and Belgian Commissioners had exhibited unnecessary nervousness. In order to avoid any possibility of commanding French troops in suppressing disorders, I deemed it fit to propose to General Marty that he accept the command of the American zone at this date, but as General Degoutte had informed him this act would

FINAL DEPARTURE OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM EHRENBREITSTEIN

be done on the 28th, and since he had not the necessary gendarmerie and police, he considered it quite out of the question. The responsibility for maintaining order here under the circumstances does not worry me in the least, but I feel apprehension lest the elements at home hostile to the Administration make political capital out of the fact. Therefore this telegram was sent to General Degoutte at Düsseldorf: "I find it practicable to turn over the American zone as soon as you find it convenient to assume command."

The Secretary of War directs that all personnel, not returning via the *St. Mihiel* or required in connection with final disposition of property or shipment of animals, be returned on the *America* via Bremen. He states that it is of the utmost importance that arrangements be so perfected as to avoid any demonstration and that all such personnel go by through train service with immediate embarkation from train to vessel. All of this indicates an earnest desire to have the quick departure of the forces emphasized and also a certain anxiety.

Herr Fritz Thyssen and the other mine-owners of the Ruhr, who were released by the French authorities on payment of their fines, passed through Coblenz to-day from Mainz and were given an ovation at all points along their journey.

All the leading Government officials of the city of Trier, including the Government (Regierung) President, Chief Burgomaster, Landrat, etc., were expelled by the French authorities at 5 P.M. yesterday and compelled to leave the city on the 6 P.M. train. Their families are ordered to leave the occupied territory by the 28th. As a result of these expulsions, the railroad service in the entire district of Trier has come to a standstill. The railway employees suspended work in protest against these actions of the French. Important expulsions are imminent in Coblenz and may be ordered even before my command is turned over.

Hatzfeldt came at 4 P.M. He considers the situation most grave with no indications of abatement. His position

has become practically untenable. Tirard insists on holding him responsible as an executive and administrative official, whilst Hatzfeldt has always considered himself as a liaison agent between the Berlin Government and the High Commission. In answering a direct question as to his tenure, I frankly told him it was most probably very limited. In my opinion all the principal officials of Coblenz, including the Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, will be expelled before our cleaning up has been accomplished. When questioned regarding Tirard's thought that Cuno is endeavoring to make himself dictator, Hatzfeldt asked why the Chancellor should make enemies of all the Left parties of the Reich when he now has all with him.

A query came from Dr. Fuchs's office to-day as to what would be my policy regarding expulsion of officials here before giving up command. That query also had influence in causing me to decide to give it up as soon as practicable. Hatzfeldt seemed to accept as a fact that the present French policy will increase the divergence between that country and England.

January 26. In such a crisis as the present, the rumors that pass are amazing. It is now reported that I am to purchase a house in Coblenz and live here — equally true with the one that Mr. Hughes had resigned.

A code message from Mr. Houghton states that the Foreign Minister does not object to the publicity of the letters exchanged between the Chancellor and myself and leaves the matter to my decision. The Berlin correspondents are anxious to have them, but my answer to this was not favorable. I fear the small sermon contained in mine might occasion dissatisfaction and therefore suggested delay for the present.

The success thus far achieved in the Ruhr has become the source of serious doubts in certain French quarters. My agent from there to-day and the *Echo de Paris* confirm the following: that it was not practicable to divert trains laden with coal from going into unoccupied Germany on account of lack of skilled personnel to handle them and the

consequent danger of congestion, and that the attempt to seize the state mines north of Essen also had to be abandoned. This journal adds: "We have not carried out our programme. At the present time, mines, foundries, and furnaces are working at full pressure for Germany. The first brush with the enemy has not yielded the results we expected to obtain."

Expulsions, arrests, and declarations of martial law, notably in Trier and Kreuznach, characterize the past twenty-four hours. Germans claim that of a total of sixty trains of coal shipped out of the Ruhr for France since the occupation, practically all have been diverted to Germany.

Repercussions in Bavaria to the French aggressions show strides in the "reunification" of Germany. At Munich a copy of the Versailles Treaty was publicly burned to the tune of "*Deutschland über Alles.*" One speaker claimed that, as the authors of the treaty had torn it up, it was no longer binding on the *Vaterland.* The danger of separatism in Bavaria seems to have disappeared, and it may be that this event is significant of the increasing hatred that France is preparing for herself. Hatzfeldt and the local press attribute the small riots in Coblenz and the sacking of the Dorten premises to the fear that a *coup* was being prepared by the Separatists that would bring about the Rhineland Republic heralded by Smeets, Dorten, and others.

January 27. At a family lunch to-day at Kilmarnock's with the Ryans, grave doubt was expressed as to whether their troops would continue and whether the Commission personnel would remain if the troops were withdrawn. In spite of the inconveniences and disagreements that a stay may involve for them, a complete withdrawal would leave three fine highways from Paris to the Rhine, at Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne. Serious obstacles to making the Rhine definitely the eastern boundary of France would be removed and the dream of thousands of Frenchmen, and others who do not know the unending dangers of such a move, could be realized.

On turning over the zone at noon to General Marty at

my military headquarters, there was the least ceremony. He arrived promptly with Hendricks and was greeted by me and my staff heads and aides. I assured him of our co-operation as long as we remained and wished him complete success in his new duties.

Five minutes after the American zone was turned over to the French authorities, all train service tributary to Coblenz ceased. The French now hold Coblenz station with troops. The customs barrier around the Ruhr Basin, backed by infantry, tanks, and artillery, will be completed by midnight. This should stop or control all coal going into unoccupied Germany. Kilmarnock does not yet know whether the British troops will be withdrawn. If withdrawn, and the British representative on the Commission is also withdrawn, it is considered that legal existence of the Commission would end. That would bring a purely military occupation to which present measures are tending. Our personal relations with all French military and civil officials continue excellent. An exceptionally friendly attitude is shown by all nationalities to the few remaining Americans. It is understood that passive resistance, including strikes in mines and on railways at stated intervals at vital points, here and there, is directed from Münster.

The policy of creating and breaking strikes wherever and whenever desired must be excessively harassing for the French authorities, but will eventuate in drastic measures being laid on the minor officials and finally on the strikers themselves.

Major Kuhlenthal, who has been here throughout our stay as German bridgehead officer, an unusually clever man, came in to take leave of me. He brought greetings from the Chancellor, whom he saw a few days since in Berlin, and likewise the thoughts of certain industrials who claim that, with the coal already on hand and what they may secure from England, they may carry on. He claims that at present all volunteers for service are turned away, and that, if the French reach Münster, the Reichswehr will withdraw. He thinks that France must greatly

increase her military railway troops to meet Germany's passive resistance, and that, should France go to Berlin, she would require the mobilization of nearly a million men. All of this is probably too true. Moreover, when the situation reaches that stage, there will be such a combination between Germany and Russia as will pinch out Poland and secure the Silesian coal.

Resistance in the Ruhr is constantly changing its form. The banks close and then open, the miners go on strike and then resume. The river men leave work, and this, that, and the other of the railway services cease to function. At this very hour the latest form of resistance is for the whole railroad terminal organization at focal points to walk out. At this moment the stations at Duisburg (main station), Duisburg-Neiderich, Hamborn, Oberhausen, Bottrop, Dahlhausen, and Düsseldorf-Rath are closed. A British staff official just returned from Düsseldorf reports that yesterday the French general commanding the line of communications ordered a locomotive and one car to be placed at this British official's service to take him from Düsseldorf to Neuss, but that, while there were many locomotives and cars idle, no one was available competent to operate the complicated switch and signal system through the Düsseldorf yards; that after two hours of hard work French engineer troops had managed to get the locomotive past five switch points, but that, since there were eight more to pass before the train could get on to the main line, the effort was abandoned as futile. This illustrates how hopeless must be the effort to operate the complicated agencies of a highly organized industrial area against resistance even of the passive sort. It would appear that the effort cannot succeed until the Germans become worn down and hungry and succumb to siege tactics.

January 28. The results of the French occupation of the Saar have been cited as a guide to what France may do in the Ruhr. The analogy is not well chosen. The populations are 700,000 to 5,000,000 and the laborers 200,000 to 2,000,000. An attempt to introduce either French or local

currency into the Ruhr will bring about a very different problem from the introduction of the franc into the Saar. Local resources would not suffice and the finances of France will be strained to bear such a burden. An attempt to place the miners there on a different basis from the rest of the population would meet with the greatest dissatisfaction. The present situation in the Saar region is a feeble indication of what would probably take place in the Ruhr. Only seventeen per cent of the coke used in France is produced in her domain, including the Saar.

When the French first began to operate the mines in the Saar District, production decreased, but as time went on more coal was produced than before the war. This was because the French Government tried the experiment of using Saar coal to produce coke for the steel and iron industry of Lorraine. Every effort was made to stimulate production until it was found that the coke produced was not satisfactory and could not compete with German coke. During 1922, production was allowed to decrease and the miners were forced to be idle two shifts each week. This arose from the fact that Saar coal was not desired by France and was not purchased to any great extent by Germany because of its high price and because German industry outside of the Saar District could not use it. Saar coal has no great potential value for industrial purposes, as it is primarily used for heating. It appears that French industry is desirous of obtaining Ruhr coal, which is excellent for coking, and therefore pressure has been brought to bear upon the French Government to compel Germany to meet the French demands for steam coal.

January 29. At Kilmarnock's play, *The Dream Kiss*, given at the Stadttheater, I had occasion to talk with Tirard and Rolin, both of whom seem more dubious as to the results thus far achieved and more serious as regards the outcome. There is, however, no possibility of a stop, but a firm resolution to go on. Ryan told me that both the Italian and German Governments had approached him with reference to mediation and that no satisfaction could be given either.

After all the talk about a Rhein thaler, Frank mark, or Rheinland franc, the Commission is going to discuss the subject to-morrow on the basis of printing enough German paper marks to meet any shortage that may occur — this while this unit has fallen to 32,000 and is still falling. The franc is also slowly but continually dropping. The economic struggle is sapping the vitality of both nations and seriously injuring others. This new phase of the discussion of the Rhine monetary question "will show the world that France does not contemplate separation." Unfortunately, the connection between words and action bearing on Franco-German relations, such as we are confronted with, is so loose that deductions fail.

Bradbury's critique, to the American and British press, of the proposed French moratorium was so poignant and enlightening as to its value that Poincaré has seen fit to withdraw it without discussion. Germany has already recognized the fact that it was a moratorium only in name. This diagnosis was probably backed by Boyden, against whom the Senate attack has not yet ceased.

Traffic on the Rhine is almost nil. Germans claim that inexperience of French caused derailing of seven trains in the Ruhr. There is further delay in designating a high commissioner for the Ruhr. General Degoutte remains in charge. No reason is assigned for delay in beginning the coal blockade on the Ruhr east front and in establishing a complete customs boundary around the Ruhr. Presumably much of the Ruhr coke purchased by Dutchmen is for Germany. A proposal in the French Parliament to vote forty-five million francs for January and February Ruhr expenses occasions no surprise here.

January 30. At the session of the Commission to-day it is clear that England's position at Cologne is becoming daily more difficult. At the close of the session a special meeting composed of only the Commissioners was called. At my departure, Tirard requested me to remain. The subject for consideration was Degoutte's request to have sanctions immediately applied in the Cologne area against

recalcitrant German railway and brown coal officials. No decision was reached in the matter, leaving the solution to the hope that some satisfactory arrangement could be made by the British with the Germans. Tirard called my attention to France's conciliatory attitude, and addressed me as "mon collègue américain."

The shortage of currency was also discussed. The Reichsbank in refusing to send money into the occupied territories will soon cause serious inconveniences for the armies of occupation. The French Conmissioner stated that the Reichsvermogensverwaltung refused when demand was made on it for money for the army, saying orders from Berlin forbade compliance. The Belgian military authorities requisitioned money from the Reichsbank, but, not getting enough, requisition was made on private banks at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was this last act that caused rumors in Coblenz to-day that private banks and funds would be taken over here to-day by the French authorities. The session to-day reveals the almost impossible position of English authority in the Cologne zone under present conditions. The Germans are using this situation to increase the divergence between France and England. Acts of sabotage are increasing under the stress of the present economic war.

When all is said, the fact remains that France is occupying a position, as a result of the war, which she did not win by her own efforts. The difficulty of maintaining such a status has forced her into this Ruhr experiment which will in the end place her in the category of European states to which her merits entitle her. Before its accomplishment, however, untold woe will be experienced by thousands of human beings.

Minister Devèze's farewell speech to us shows that the Belgians do not hesitate to give us full credit for our achievements in the Great War. On the other hand, our good French friends always seem apprehensive lest, in doing this, they detract from the prowess of their troops or the exploit of their country.

The interview, given a few days since by Herr Brandt to the *Lokal Anzeiger*, has appeared and seems to be quite correct in expressing the conversation we had. It is not often that the German press has requested the views of members of the occupying agencies.

January 31. The passive resistance met by increased sanctions and expulsions is developing many acts of sabotage. Both sides are becoming more aggressive and the danger of an offensive attitude on the part of Germany is imminent. The Lorraine industries, deprived of German coke, declare that they are willing to shut down entirely rather than yield. The accelerated pace with which chaos is gaining ground may find Germany and Russia making common cause in destroying Poland, ever obnoxious to both of them, to get the Silesian coal fields. The mark has dropped to about 45,000 and the franc, though traveling slowly, is continually descending. To-day it is 16.60.

The more severe state of martial law just proclaimed by General Degoutte pertains only to the newly (Ruhr) occupied territory. Expulsions of German officials with their families have already exceeded one hundred in the old occupied territory. The Minister of the Interior has issued an order forbidding members of the state police and other officials in uniform to salute officers and flags of the foreign armies in the Ruhr district. Enormous sums, in the inflated currency, are required by the Reich to pay wages and in general to maintain its war without arms and ammunition.

Poincaré has again affirmed to American and British newspapers that France has no ulterior designs on the Rhineland or Ruhr, and that, when Germany complies with the requirements of the treaty, troops will leave the Ruhr and the left bank of the Rhine will be freed on the completion of the fifteen-year period. The overwhelming vote of confidence he has received from his Parliament must have seemed a mandate for him to try one of the greatest experiments in the history of France. As a result of the war that country has been given a position and

a standing straining its capacity to hold, but which nevertheless state pride demands she maintain. She will be in the saddle a number of years in Central Europe, but the inexorable laws of force will eventually assign her to a place in the category of European states to which her own potentiality and merit entitle her.

On his return from consultation with Degoutte at Düsseldorf, Tirard called a session of the Commission especially to acquaint it amongst other matters with the decision reached there to shut off all coal from the Ruhr to unoccupied Germany, in case there was further resistance in that district. Before the session was ended, instructions came from Paris directing the execution of the additional sanction at midnight. During the course of the day the customs bureau at Bad Ems was raided by Germans and all the records carried away, but not the emergency money held there. All the officials connected with the bureau were expelled.

This letter from Boyden has given me amusement and much satisfaction:

> We are in much the same position. We both sympathize heartily with the French and would do anything possible to help toward the two results they ought to get — reparations and security. We neither of us share the general American opinion that France needs no army and that force is a thing of the past; but we are equally of the opinion that France is not using her victory or her force wisely either for her own interests or for the interests and peace of the world; and we are equally of the opinion that the United States has not acted wisely, and in particular, in recent months, has failed to act with the definiteness which might have changed the whole course of events, and which, whether it changed them or not, was necessary from every possible point of view.
>
> I don't think either of us has anything to reproach ourselves with. We have given the same warnings and made the same recommendations. I would like some time to see your dispatches and mine published side by side. I know two men who will indulge in a quiet but hearty laugh if that ever happens.
>
> I was interested in the address you made to the troops the other day, as it appeared in the *Herald* this morning. It em-

bodied your real thought of the proper use of American influence, and the proper function of the American troops, which thought has been the basis of all your policy. It was a very quiet and moderate statement, and will not attract attention, but it did, nevertheless, make an impression on me.

My best wishes to you wherever you go, and with it I express the hope that we may be thrown together again. Grasty mentions in a note received this morning that you yourself might come in for some publicity or even reprimand. I sincerely hope so. Any publicity which is given to your views and actions will redound to your credit.

One must go farther back than he does in laying great responsibility and much blame on the United States for present European conditions. Had we ratified something — call it the Versailles Treaty revised almost beyond recognition, as would have been permitted us — unquestionably much of the present European chaos would have been avoided.

The report of the failure of France to continue with England in the Lausanne arrangement, and of her indication to Turkey that French representatives would continue at Lausanne if the Angora Government so desired, was received here to-day and aroused much resentment among the British. They claimed that if it were true they would all pack up and leave.

February 1. Finally the settlement of the war debt between the United States and England, on the basis arranged by Sir Stanley Baldwin in Washington, has been approved on this side. This is a source of much relief in financial circles of the two countries, even if it does "increase the British taxes by two shillings to the pound." The Lausanne incident is also in better status since England and France are agreed to give the Angora Government further time to discuss the proposals handed to it. After all, the most difficult of the many serious questions discussed at Lausanne is shown to be Mosul oil. That was foretold by some wiseacres who knew the value of those oil fields of Irak.

Osann is again back from the Ruhr and reports that up

till now 14,000 cars of coal have been going daily into Germany and yet not a single train into France. He thinks the grumbling of the Germans shows a slight weakening of their morale in this passive resistance and that the relations between the troops and the population are becoming more strained.

We are now with the Godleys, having come up for the McLeans' dinner. Godley finds "sitting on the fence" is not an easy task, though the French have done everything possible under the circumstances to make it comfortable for him. One of the most important of the events at issue is sending the reparations coal through the British zone, and it has been agreed that Degoutte will give Godley three days' notice before any shipment is made.

February 2. The stay at the Godleys' was delightful, and the lunch given us by the Pigotts was most agreeable. The attractiveness of the Cologne shops and the sudden drop of the mark were not resisted, and our purchases at the antiquary Fahrbach and other places totaled several million marks. That sounds formidable, but is in reality a little more than a hundred dollars.

On arrival back at Coblenz, a cablegram of Secretary Hughes advises me that now that the American forces have been withdrawn from the Rhineland, the Department has decided to withdraw its observer with the Rhineland High Commission.

A telegram from Pershing also increases the conviction that Washington desires us to move out of here as soon as practicable, thus strongly suggesting to the world that there is a close relation between the Ruhr occupation and our recall. While this has not been publicly admitted, the world has made its decision.

February 3. Expulsions continue to be the order of the day in both the old and new occupied territories, except in the English zone where the truce still obtains. The most prominent official to go is the Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, Dr. Fuchs, who it is reported was carried off from Coblenz in an automobile to an unknown destination.

He was taken away at seven o'clock last evening on very short notice, for informing the Commission of his compliance with orders from Berlin. For publishing the decisions of the Berlin Government, and for refusing to publish instructions from the Commission tantamount to declaring that the German Government is without any authority in the occupied territory, the newspapers of Coblenz excepting one have been suspended for three days. The excepted one, *Die Rheinische Rundschau*, decided of its own accord to stop publication during the same period.

Having embarked on this perilous experiment, France must see it through to the limit of her capacity, regardless of the increased hatred developed and of the severe strain on her finances. Thus far the outlook for reparations must be confined to the satisfaction to state pride and to the consciousness of gaining temporary security through further crippling her enemy. Public opinion in the United States seems to be divided on the present French policy, probably largely by reason of old and new war associations and partly by a general dislike by many of Germany.

The communications from Washington yesterday and the day before leave no doubt that our Government wants me out of here without delay, and I have therefore decided to sail on the *George Washington* on February 21st. The more quickly the entire withdrawal is effected, the more closely will it be associated with the Ruhr occupation.

In a letter to Phillips, I said:

"It would have been a bold decision to remain here with our troops, but it would have had a great deterrent effect, just as that of England now has. With both American and British forces out of the way, and both of their zones abandoned, France would have three fine, unhindered highways from Paris to the Rhine — at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mainz. France wants to carry out her plans with the least employment of troops and least possible loss of energy, whether in men or material, but her neighbor and ancient enemy will not consent to have his affairs administered by another. As long as each side maintains its in-

sistence of right, the growth of hatred will be accelerated rather than appeased."

February 4. To-day we had our last formal stag hunt from the tent rendezvous near Höhr. Although the stag was once brought to bay in a small stream, he got away and was finally lost. The last hunt supper took place at the Officers' Club. There were many English present, but naturally fewer French and Belgians than usual. There seems to be some doubt as to whether this club will continue after our departure.

In answer to a cablegram asking whether Fort Riley desired our hounds as a gift, I was informed affirmatively, but it was understood by the War Department, so the reply stated, that we would defray the cost of transportation from private funds. Mildly expressed, that is some assurance, especially since these hounds have cost us several thousand dollars and our hunt funds are very low.

Dr. Appelmann, Regierungsrat at the office of Oberpräsident Fuchs, called at tea-time in behalf of his deported chief to give me assurances of his regrets that I am not to remain on the Commission and again to express his thanks for the fairness with which he says we have carried out our mission here. Without any previous intimation, Dr. Fuchs was called over to the Commission building and there informed by Roussellier and Liedekerke of his fate. He was allowed to take leave of his wife, who must leave Coblenz with her daughter within four days, and was then put in an automobile between two others and driven off without any knowledge as to where he was going. By telephoning to the police agencies at various towns of unoccupied Germany, Dr. Appelmann learned that his chief had been taken to Frankfurt and that he is now at Limburg just outside of our bridgehead.

Dr. Russell, the Burgomaster of Coblenz, expects that his expulsion with his sick wife and six children will be ordered at any moment. The deportation of the families of officials within four days is causing great complaint by the Germans who consider it an unnecessary cruelty.

Count de Liedekerke, recalling the German treatment of Belgians, claims he enjoys greatly expelling these officials. Thus we have an example of state and personal vindictiveness prejudicial to righteousness and peace. Perhaps this has always been true and perhaps it will always continue.

As a result of Dr. Fuchs's expulsion, the railway strikes in the Coblenz area are to be extended, and this will naturally bring additional sanctions. Kilmarnock informs me also that the British Government has notified the director of railways at Cologne that his policy, on which an understanding was reached that permitted the British and French to compound their differences, is not in conformity with Berlin's instructions. That may be the step that will cause the withdrawal of British troops — a move that would be hurtful to the three states.

February 5. The packing of our household effects accumulated during our long period of helping maintain the Watch on the Rhine has begun.

The French have extended the occupation of the Kehl (Strasbourg) bridgehead by entering the towns of Offenburg and Appenweyer, in the State of Baden, in order, it is claimed, to maintain the international Paris–Prague–Budapest train service which had been suspended by the Germans. It is further reported that the French are continuing their advance into the Black Forest and it is assumed, from the fact that additional stations are being taken over, that they contemplate control of the railway system of that region. An official French report from Carlsruhe on the occupation of this additional territory declared that it was no military measure against the population, but merely a sanction. A subsequent order stated that the ordinances of the High Commission would henceforth apply in this the latest occupied territory. The Baden Government has made appeal to its people against this advance and directs all its officials to refuse to obey orders given by the occupying authorities. The Germans claim this new advance into the domain of a free state can be defended only as a measure based on might and expedi-

ency; that it is not based on the Versailles Treaty and is in consequence an act of war.

There are rumors that the supply of bread, potatoes, and meat has been secured for the old and newly occupied territories for the next few months, and that German sympathizers in the United States are furnishing money to this end. Chancellor Cuno was in the Ruhr two days since. His conferences with employees and employers are understood to have resulted in the establishment of measures necessary to continue the present policy of passive resistance. Neither side shows any indication of changing its determination to hold out.

The Rolins gave us a farewell dinner to-night. It was somewhat noteworthy that no English subject was present. Regarding Rolin's proposal at a recent session of the Commission, favoring the establishment of a currency plan following that of the German cities and industrials, he informed me that his Government found his plan unsatisfactory. That should not have been a surprise. He also told me that this whole subject had been transferred, to his great satisfaction, to Paris, where it remains under consideration. The matter-of-course manner in which this exceptionally intricate and highly technical subject was treated at the Commission caused me astonishment

Tirard was not at the dinner, as he is now *en route* from Paris, where he has been in conference with Poincaré. Roussellier and Liedekerke seemed confident that the present measures would bring the Germans to terms, the former giving them thirty days more of resistance. In the mean time blast furnaces in Micheville, Honnecourt, Thionville, and Pont-à-Mousson have been blown out, and expulsions and arrests continue here.

February 6. Fifteen hundred poor children in our area have been receiving a supplemental meal every day. Of these, nine hundred are being fed in Coblenz at five kitchens. This number has been increased by three hundred and the work turned over to the German society under terms that will permit it to continue for a period of ninety

days. The food distribution has been carried out under the direction of my district representative Dolan, from the Hoover-Quaker supplies.

The German Government has forwarded a note to France and Belgium, replying to the French Government's note of January 31st, and protesting against the blockade of the Ruhr Basin, which it claims constitutes a violation of Article 251 of the Peace Treaty. Further, the Government contemplates appointing the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Severing, a Commissioner for the Ruhr District. In the mean time Germany has been informed that the French Government will not receive any more letters criticizing the measures taken by the Reparations Commission.

The War Department having left the matter of leaves to me on our departure, and it having become known that they could be had, various officers, whom I had kept over well beyond a reasonable time for reasons of emergency, had made applications which the chief of staff approved. The clamor for leaves, well in excess of what can be granted, shows that many of our officers, who have been living somewhat luxuriously in Europe, are most reluctant to return with their families to the high prices at home. Still, they should return.

To-day the High Commission gave me a formal farewell. The ubiquitous Zimmerman was there with his camera to complete the historical record of the occasion. Now that this ceremony is concluded, it may be truly said that I am detached. Instead of having one dinner for all the Commissioners before our departure, I have decided to have one for each Commissioner and certain ones of his personnel interspersed with Americans.

February 7. At a recent meeting of the High Commission, the Belgian High Commissioner pointed out that the shortage of coal in the occupied territories, particularly in the Belgian zone, both for civilian and military needs constituted a great danger, and he urged that the High Commission should direct its coal committee to use all the

means in its power to see that Ruhr coal was sent to the occupied territories in amount at least sufficient to meet urgent needs. The French High Commissioner objected for the time, stating that the storage capacity at the Ruhr pitheads was very limited, and that with the embargo on coal movements to non-occupied Germany, and with the refusal of the Germans to move coal to France and Belgium, the congestion at the pitheads would result in great embarrassment and consequently the German resistance would soon break down, but if the Allied authorities should adopt any measures which would tend to relieve this congestion they would encourage rather than discourage German resistance. After argument and reluctantly the French Commissioner agreed to the Belgian Commissioner's suggestion, reserving, however, the right to change his decision at any time. It might be observed that the distance from Aix-la-Chapelle, the Belgian high headquarters, to the Belgian frontier is very short, and it might well be that coal delivered at Aix-la-Chapelle could easily reach Belgium, whereas under present conditions great difficulty would attend the transportation of coal to France, even though it might reach the occupied territories.

The Rhenish Provincial Diet was convened yesterday at Barmen in extraordinary session, Chancellor Cuno, Finance Minister Hermes, Food Minister Luther, and Prussian Interior Minister Severing attending. All the railway lines of the Cologne District except those in the British zone suspended operation yesterday. The lines in the Palatinate have been placed under the Commission by order of the French commander-in-chief. It is not contended, of course, that the Rhineland Agreement furnished any authority for this procedure or for the action in connection with the Baden towns east of the Kehl bridgehead. The High Commission is now being used more as an instrument for applying new reprisals than as the supreme representative of the Allied and Associated Governments in the execution of the Rhineland Agreement.

February 8. The French press claims that Germany is

LAST SESSION OF THE HIGH COMMISSION IN WHICH THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES PARTICIPATED
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weakening, and leaves the impression that her policy thus far has been successful. Perhaps it has, but there is little indication of it as yet in evidence here or in the German press. The rise in the mark, however, from 50,000 to 33,000 would seem to point to some sort of possible arrangement or financial maneuver not yet given publicity, and the drop of the franc to 17.50 suggests a financial jam in Paris.

The Ruhr blockade has been further extended by forbidding consignments of coal by-products and the importation of iron ore, scrap iron, etc., into the Ruhr District. More acts of sabotage have been committed in that district; a large number of telephone wires have been cut. In consequence the occupying authorities have issued orders that sentries will fire at persons committing such acts, at the same time announcing severe punishment. Railway traffic in the Trèves District remains at a standstill.

After an absence of nearly five years from the United States, packing up brings pleasant thoughts connected with the return. There is a conviction, however, that no future work that may fall to me will combine as much interest and importance as this. For me these days represent the closing act in the Great War Drama as an active participator. But that does not imply that the war begun in 1914 is over in 1923.

February 9. Three more placards were posted in the city of Coblenz to-day. The first, signed by the Chief Burgomaster, states that Germans have attempted to enter the Coblenz stations for the purpose of plundering cars and that the French sentries have been directed to fire at every one so doing. The second, without signature, but apparently from the Commission, says that the German authorities have directed wholesale dealers in the occupied territories to refuse to carry out French or Belgian contracts or to ship goods for Belgium or France via unoccupied Germany, and to pay duties, etc., to the customs offices in unoccupied Germany. The placard states further that all dealers so doing, and thereby violating the recent ordi-

nances of the I.A.R.H.C., will be punished. The third poster announces that all requests for export and import licenses must be addressed to the Import and Export Office at Bad Ems, which will be reorganized, and that applications for positions at that office should be addressed to the I.A.R.H.C.

It is reported that the French Government has received protests from Holland and Switzerland complaining of the effect of the Ruhr blockade on consignments of coal intended for them. This becomes a difficult question, since coal trains to unoccupied Germany can be directed via Holland and Switzerland, thus rendering the entire blockade useless.

A member of the British Commission staff informs me that Curzon is furious over the conduct of the French in the Near-East questions, but nevertheless that French prestige in Turkey has suffered greatly in these recent events and discussions, and also that Poincaré recognizes that he has made a mistake. In the mean time the difficulties of the British in the Cologne zone are increasing. Degoutte, who was here this morning for conference with the Commission, stopped off at Cologne for further conversation with Godley. Both sides are doing the very best possible, but the *imperium in imperio* thus far has not been satisfactory. If the status grows much worse, it will mean the departure of the British, with the possible complete rupture of the Entente, the destruction of the Rhineland Agreement, and the dismemberment of the Commission. France and Belgium would be less hampered, but would be deprived of the moral support and moderation that English occupation has brought; and Germany, feeling that the cleavage in the Entente was complete, would have gained a certain amount of courage to increase her resistance. England, thinking of a balance of power in Europe, would still be uneasy lest Germany under these circumstances make again too strong competition with her in the commercial world. At present Germany is undoubtedly at the mercy of France and bases her passive resist-

ance on the belief that she has nothing to lose, but everything to gain.

February 10. It is claimed that the purchase of marks in New York and by the French in Frankfurt for use in the Ruhr is responsible for the stiffening of that unit. The franc continues weak. These results and the complaint in Paris that the Ruhr occupation has not brought out the promised coal are giving satisfaction and encouragement to the supporters of the passive resistance. The Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Chamber, headed by de Leygues, has twice asked Poincaré to appear before it without success. In the mean time the President of the Council is supposed to be contemplating reorganization of his Cabinet with a view to having a coalition government resembling that of 1914, possibly with Tardieu as Minister of Foreign Affairs — the post now held by himself. The strikes and deportations that continue here prove the tenseness of the struggle being waged with great financial losses to both sides.

Kilmarnock says the Germans have again made the British position more difficult by insisting on the inspection of trains passing through their zone to ascertain whether or not they are carrying men or munitions to the Ruhr. Neutrality is proving continually more impracticable. England could give up a certain part of her zone toward Düren and Euskirchen, or she could permit the French to do as they are now doing in this zone — neither of which would comport with the dignity or the principles of her stay. Germany is profiting by this dilemma. While she wants England to remain, she would get satisfaction in her leaving by reason of the increased cleavage it would show in the relations of the two countries still striving for a settlement of the Near-East questions.

Begging letters become more numerous as our departure approaches. Fortunately for the poor, the winter has been so mild that there has been no ice in the large fountain pool in the garden. The small trout we put in there in the spring, thanks to the liberal feeding by the cook, now

weigh a pound each at the average, and may be caught with hook and line.

Boyden wires me from Paris to designate a day when he may assemble some American friends in a farewell dinner party. Nearly every officer who did not return with the troops, regardless of the length of his service in Europe and the amount of leave enjoyed abroad, has put in for a leave of absence, and presumably finds me ungracious if not inappreciative of his services for refusing to grant it.

February 11. We had our first series of three final dinner parties, intended respectively for the Belgians, French, and British, headed by the Rolin-Jaequemyns. He now thinks it will require two or three months longer to bring the Germans to terms and that the severer measures to be adopted very soon will be most useful and necessary in the compulsion. Degoutte is to be given more authority and the Commission is to subordinate its activities to the necessity of having a supreme head in this crisis such as would be required in time of actual war. Thus we see the High Commission as the supreme representative of the Allied and Associated Powers yielding under the stress of this economic war to a military government, which it will serve as a ready instrument of execution. Other names than Degoutte's have been mentioned, but since he, Rolin, and Tirard have worked together harmoniously so long and know each other so well, it would be best to retain him. Weygand would be good, but there should be one head for all the occupied territories. The greatest danger to this plan is from the rear, where dissatisfaction with the small amount of coal obtained and the depreciation of the franc may upset the Poincaré Government at any time, regardless of his recent big vote of confidence. Payot is proving troublesome, through his well-known steam-roller processes as well as by his playing the press to his own exaltation and to the deprecation of others. If the Commission must be subordinated to the military command, it is evident that it will further increase England's difficulties in remaining on the Rhine. Eager as both France and Ger-

many are to have England remain, they are both doing the very things that may bring about her withdrawal.

February 12. In dining with the Nostitzes at the Hahn Restaurant at Wiesbaden and attending later the dance at the Four Seasons, I was witnessing a genuine tragedy or at least some of the results of the greatest tragedy of modern times — the *débâcle* of Russia. At the dinner was "His Imperial Highness" Leuchtenberg — nephew of the one we knew in St. Petersburg, who married a Beauharnais — and his wife. Under the old system she would have been morganatic. Then there was the Princess Gabriel of Russia, from the stage, whose husband is the only brother surviving the Soviet rule and a son of the scholarly Grand Duke Constantin Constantinovitch. Following a law promulgated during our stay in Russia, the children of grand dukes who were themselves second cousins of the Czar became princes. The two Beiolozelsky-Bielozersky sisters, one of whom married an Orloff and the other Prince Kotchubey — supposedly excellent marriages — were there. Their old Princess mother, who was a very ambitious sister of General Skobeleff, would turn over in her grave could she know the poverty in which the formerly rich Kotchubeys are at present living.

Just now Wiesbaden harbors a great number of Russian refugees who find the life there under the conditions of the debased currency more suitable to their tastes and purses than almost anywhere in Europe. There are in all 20,000 of them. True to their practices and temperaments, they spend generously as long as they have anything. This was shown to-night.

To my surprise I met there the widow of Admiral Makaroff — who went down on the dreadnought *Petropavlovsk*, I think it was — wonderfully dolled up and amazingly young-looking for her many winters. She seemed, however, to have had a shock when I answered her question as to when we had last met by replying, "Twenty-nine years ago."

One and all of these Russians are hopeless and see no

possibility of a worthy restoration except through some vaguely vizualized intervention, possibly of the United States. Only an emperor, they think, could consolidate the conflicting views of all classes; a president would not have sufficient prestige. The political education of Russia is so limited that their views may be well founded. However, the old thought continually prevented education and political progress. With greater education a different government would have resulted. Most unfortunate is the fact that the great change came without any preparation. The class represented by these very persons present tonight might have averted the slough of misery in which their country seems destined to remain yet a number of years.

February 13. These days are marked with an effort to leave here with matters so adjusted and settled that there may be no unfavorable reactions, and, above all, that there be no hurrying and scurrying the very last day or two at Coblenz. The civil and military history for 1922–23, its indexing and binding, as well as that of important letters received and sent during the same period, and a completion of the revision of my journal are demanding an accelerated pace on the part of all those charged with these subjects. Certain household articles purchased from the Cologne antiquary, Fahrbach, and the Coblenz furnisher, Behrend, amounting to a fantastic sum in marks, but to only a few hundred dollars, have not been finished and are in consequence delaying the packing.

The sanctions thus far applied have fallen short of their purpose. The stoppage of all river and most rail transportation continues. A few coal trains have moved to Aix-la-Chapelle and a few barges of coal have been moved to Strasbourg on the river, but with great difficulty. The coal trains were operated by military personnel and the barges by the use of requisitioned tugs that moved them toward Strasbourg. It is reliably stated that this whole coal movement represents but one fifth of one day's normal output.

Sterner measures had to be taken, otherwise the Franco-Belgian policy must have been declared a failure. Degoutte has been given greater authority. According to Rolin, he has been made supreme in the Ruhr without losing any authority in the Rhineland. As matters now stand, he says that Degoutte has become the father and the Commission the mother of the Rhineland baby. Vain efforts are still being made to adjust the question of transportation of coal, soldiers, and munitions through the British zone. Kilmarnock evidently has not been fully apprised of the quasi-military dictatorship already put into force on the Rhine and of the recognized effacement of the powers of the Commission by that body itself. He thinks that, if such a status be officially proclaimed, not only will England wholly withdraw from the Rhine, but that it may end the Entente.

The British Parliament convenes to-morrow and Poincaré likewise is to appear before the committee on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber to make answer, so Rousselier says, to eighty-three prepared questions. The highly charged European atmosphere will discharge more sparks. In the mean time part of the American press is preaching against the proposed funding of the British debt based on a three per cent basis, whereas the Liberty bonds, which largely produced the funds for England, are taking over four per cent from our Government. Much could be written on both sides of that question if considered solely in its financial aspect; but, when studied in its relation to world restoration and normality, moral and physical, there seems to be little reason for further delay.

Tirard gave us a farewell dinner to-night to which the Commissioners and their families were invited.

February 14. With Harts and Hendricks, I drove to Düsseldorf this morning for lunch with General Degoutte and to take leave of him. His headquarters are in the Stahlhof and he messes in a city club building which is shared with the Germans. Many people had assembled near the guard, curious to see what was to take place.

Throughout the journey, but especially the nearer we approached the Ruhr, the sight of the olive drab car, with my insignia of two stars and the little American flag at the front, prescribed by the High Commission, caused the more interest. On arrival at the hotel, General Degoutte at once escorted us to his office where he explained his policy of encirclement rather than one of occupying in force the big towns such as Essen, Dortmund, and the Gelsenkirchen and Recklinghausen groups. His two corps commanders and chief assistants, Henrys and Caron, were present while he was explaining the situation and policy, as well as at the lunch. He showed in his unusual pallor the strain to which he has been subjected. His invalid wife at Mainz is also a source of great anxiety for him.

His Government thought that an occupation of only a few weeks would bring the industrialists to book, but more than that time has elapsed and the struggle continues. Every effort will be continued to bring the financial magnates of Germany to a readiness to pay, while all possible leniency will be shown the laboring classes and others. Degoutte will remain supreme in the Ruhr and probably there will be no permanent assistants, one each from Paris and Brussels, as suggested. Weygand's duties will be those of a liaison officer between Poincaré and Foch on one side and Degoutte on the other. The talk of a division of authority has not proved agreeable or acceptable.

Had France not occupied the Ruhr, there was a conviction that Germany would have attacked her within ten years. The thought that a relief had been secured in respect to that is something of a solace. Still there is hope that with the increased sanctions the resistance must crumple in a short time. Under the new policy all articles from all quarters may be brought or sent into the Ruhr, but exports may be made only to the west. That policy, if successful, will unquestionably make a separation of the Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany.

The streets and shops do not give any marked appearance of the tragedy that is being played and our drive from

the Stahlhof to the club did not seem to create any more interest than it would have done in Coblenz. The chief and his staff indulged in banalities, as well as in the serious phases of the present situation, throughout the meal of nearly two hours' duration.

The advance of the mark is unprecedented, having risen from 50,000 about ten days since to 19,000 to-day. That must be a shock to those who hope the present policy will shortly bring the Germans to terms.

February 15. Bonar Law's speech in the House of Commons on the 13th is being widely discussed in the French and German press. Whilst the latter is fairly well satisfied with it, the former is as much displeased. He foresees the possibility of one of the two contending sides making England's position on the Rhine untenable and therewith a great danger to the continuation of the Entente. Although an understanding with France is the bed rock of English Continental policy, it is seriously menaced by the events now taking place. He suggests that the reparations mask has been removed and that the political character of the occupation in the Ruhr has been made clear. Acts now taking place on the Rhine make it easy for England to control the balance of power on the Continent. She, like France and Belgium, wants reparations, but they are more fearful than she that Germany may become strong enough to pay.

A farewell dinner was given us by Kilmarnock to-night. He expresses sincere regret at our departure.

The marriage of Colonel Stone's daughter, barely seventeen years old, to Lieutenant Devine, took place to-day in their house on Mainzerstrasse.

February 16. Curzon's speech in the House of Lords, as far as related to the Ruhr, was in other garb the same as that of the Prime Minister. During the month France had secured no coal and, as far as reparations were concerned, the results were nil. There had been a complete stoppage of all payments and deliveries from Germany. The total receipts which France had received from all quarters were

only a fraction of what she was receiving before her troops advanced. The attitude of the British Government was one of benevolent neutrality with sympathy for France in her indignant resentment at the failure to receive the reparations she was justly entitled to. Britain, however, declined to associate herself with France because she thought the object could not be obtained by the methods adopted, and further that if they were pursued to extremes the result might be fatal to larger aggregates of humanity than France and Germany. France and Germany wanted English troops to remain on the Rhine and a withdrawal now might be misinterpreted. The situation, however, would have to be reviewed from time to time and fresh decisions might have to be taken.

Many of the thoughts expressed by both Bonar Law and Curzon have been sent at various times to the State Department and possibly have been accepted as our views on this important Rhine question. It is significant that the English leaders barely see fit to mention Belgium in all these discussions and also that the Italian mining experts have left the Ruhr.

The present visit of Le Trocquer and Payot to London in connection with the movement of trains through the British zone will determine in a large measure the future relations of England to the Rhineland, to France, and to the Entente. It has been made known in Paris that France does not now desire the mediation of any power — which is quite understandable. France still claims, however, that she does not want to annex the Ruhr or Rhineland ("annex" is the wrong word); that she does not want to foster an artificial agitation for creating an autonomous state in the Ruhr or the Rhineland; and that she does not want to bring about a state of economic servitude which would make the Ruhr or the Rhineland depend entirely on France and French industries. She wants, however, from Germany an honest attempt to pay her reparations debt in money and kind. She went into the treasure house of Germany, the Ruhr, to cause the industrial magnates, the

real masters of Germany, by a strangle-hold on the Ruhr and Rhineland, to begin paying. Finally, France wants complete security from future attack, and France and Belgium know that it is in the Ruhr that the arms for such an attack are forged.

All this is said to be "absolutely authoritative and cannot be controverted." Comment on all this has been made in this journal not only since the advance began, but during several years preceding it.

At another farewell dinner, given this time by the Sheens, the Rolins and Kilmarnocks were present. The short remarks made by the host and the Commissioners were timely and not fulsome. I hope mine will bear the same criticism.

February 17. Deputy André Fribourg, impressed with the non-success thus far of the French experiment and convinced of the seriousness of the situation, writes in the *Echo du Rhin:* "Before the threatening storm the English and French should reëstablish their former unity of front. Let us forget our past griefs. Let us sit down around a green table with an ardent desire to understand each other. Let us attack vigorously all the disputed questions which are dividing us. Let us show an earnest desire to regulate them with good sense and equity. Victorious and pacific, let us agree because both victory and peace are threatened."

The British here feel that their stay is still more doubtful. Not only is it a question of the shipment of reparations coal through their zone, but likewise of supplies of all kinds for the French troops engaged in a venture of which their Government disapproves. Thus the Trocquer conferences in London on this subject have served to reveal greater differences than those between Degoutte and Godley. It hardly seems possible for British dignity to permit such exercise of control over the Cologne area as French requirements demand. Therefore the withdrawal seems inevitable.

The Rolins gave us a delightful family lunch, only the

Liedekerkes and his son-in-law and daughter being present. Our conversation did not extend far toward the burning question in which he is now taking such an active part. However, Rolin does not seem so cheerfully optimistic as he was.

At Prince Hatzfeldt's invitation, with Stone, Davis, and Hutchinson, I went around at 5 P.M. for a cup of tea. The Prince is occupying the building which for a number of years had been the quarters of the commanding general of the German troops in Coblenz. Peculiarly ornate white and gold ceilings characterize this old house. He told me that both his wife's mother and his own are Americans. Hatzfeldt is kept on thus long only because Tirard and Rolin desire to be as conciliatory as possible to Kilmarnock. His views concerning the future are gloomy, but he asserts that his Government is fully as firm in its resistance as ever and will so continue as long as the people approve that policy. One year ago, before the people had been so exasperated by the French acts, such a resistance could not have been possible. Perhaps my good French and Belgian friends would not approve my first and farewell visit to Hatzfeldt's house, but, having considered the matter carefully from all sides, I decided it should be done. He admits that the money intended for reparations is now being used to improve and maintain the mark at a higher rating. This has been done so successfully that the remaining personnel of the A.F. in G. who delayed paying their bills are now finding them double in dollar value.

A German paper says Senator Reed of Missouri declared yesterday in the Senate that the United States should summon the European Powers to pay their debts to America. He added further that, if they refused to conclude agreements regarding the consolidation of their debts, our country should occupy their colonies. According to him, this might be done on twenty-four hours' notice. From various sources comes the conviction that public opinion at home is widely divided on the present European policies.

At our final dinner party at the house, only British and Americans were invited. There were twenty-six at table and about three to four times that many came afterwards for refreshments, dancing, and bridge. The Godleys were unable to come down from Cologne, but will be here to-morrow.

The binding of the letters and the delivery of the paper, bookplate, etc., is finished in time to be packed. My metal case containing private and personal files has been crated and will be closed to-morrow and sent with those of my headquarters. I have decided to carry my wine to the ship, but to distribute it so that all may be consumed before we reach the three-mile limit.

February 18. Of my principal personnel at the High Commission each has received a letter of commendation, and all, in accordance with contract with Noyes, will be transported at public expense to their respective homes with two weeks' pay from date of sailing. Apparently all are satisfied with this phase of their separation from the Rhineland, but none are desirous of ending service here.

The Godleys were late for the Kilmarnock lunch; he had been in conference with General Payot, who had just come to Cologne from Paris. It is obvious that the French must insist on having more control, especially of communications, in the British zone, than they now have; and it is equally obvious that, in getting it, they must impinge on British rights and dignity in the territory under Godley's holding. Payot was insistent that the ten kilometres of railway south of Grevenbroich extending toward Düren should be turned over to him to-day, but Godley refused to do it before to-morrow afternoon. That, however, is only a beginning, and the more serious question of the lines passing through Cologne must yet be settled. The Germans believe France contemplates a declaration of war in order to smooth away all treaty restrictions and give them such a free hand for their acts as will not require explanations to world public opinion. Payot recognizes that conditions may arise in the Ruhr that will

require more troops, and that the present and future requirements in communications demand that he have ample assurance regarding shipment of troops and supplies through the British area. It therefore seems impracticable that the English troops can remain much longer.

At last we have some cold weather, which has blighted the crocuses, snowdrops, and buds that were everywhere in evidence on the grounds.

February 19. This is our final day in the territory held by the United States since November, 1918, and by the American Forces in Germany since July, 1919. Letters of commendation and payment of personal bills have largely filled in the intervals between the normal official acts connected with the departure. Through Hatzfeldt, the German Government proposed to have some kind of official recognition of our arrival in Bremen, but lest this happen I had him informed by phone and letter that no ceremony of any character was desired. Furthermore, I wired the State Department what had been done lest some official acts occur at Bremen that might be prejudicial to our policy of non-interference, and might leave the wrong impression with regard to my attitude toward them. Meeting Hatzfeldt later at the foot of the stairs of my headquarters, I told him that the will would be taken for the deed and that the consideration proposed would be soon communicated in person to the Department.

Ryan called while we were lunching, on his way to Cologne for another conference on the railway situation. He, too, feels that the chances of the British remaining are waning. On the other hand, Rolin, who thinks Belgium does not favor "a régime too military," believes a solution may be reached that will keep the British there.

Although it was dark and raining when our train left Ehrenbreitstein, there was a large representation including the heads of all the Departments of the Commission to see us off. The numerous Germans assembled around the station and on the platform were suggestive of more than idle curiosity. Our train is routed around the Ruhr so

FINAL LOWERING OF THE FLAG AT EHRENBREITSTEIN

as not to risk delays in that perturbed section. For the same reason we passed through Cologne without stopping more than a couple of minutes.

In bidding me farewell this morning, Prince Hatzfeldt expressed the hope that all the good-will toward humanity and the high sense of righteousness of my country shown in 1914 had not been exhausted. This delicate though somewhat ironical reference to the present aggressiveness of France, comparing it to that of his own country, is indicative of the thoughts that are indulged by many of his compatriots. He added that we had arrived as enemies and were leaving as friends — a rare occurrence in history.

THE END

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Bocholt
Halternn
WESEL
Recklinghausen
RHINE
Ruhrort
Duisburg
MULHEIM
ESSEN
BOCHUM
HAGEN
CREFELD
B
DÜLKEN
GLADBACH
MEUSS
Dusseldorf
ELBERFELD
BARMEN
REMSCHEID
E
COLOGNE
DEUTZ
JÜLICH
AIX-LA-CHAPELLE
DÜREN
NEW BRITISH FRENCH BOUNDARY
F
Ahrweiler
Oberwinter
NEUTRAL ZONE
LEGEND:
A = U.S.A.
B = BELGIUM
E = ENGLAND
F = FRANCE
++ = CUSTOM LINE
OCCUPIED BY FRANCE
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 Km

A
Adenau
Mayen
C-Lutzel
Cobler
Ehrenbreitstein
Limburg
Friedberg
Güls
Rhens
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Salzig
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